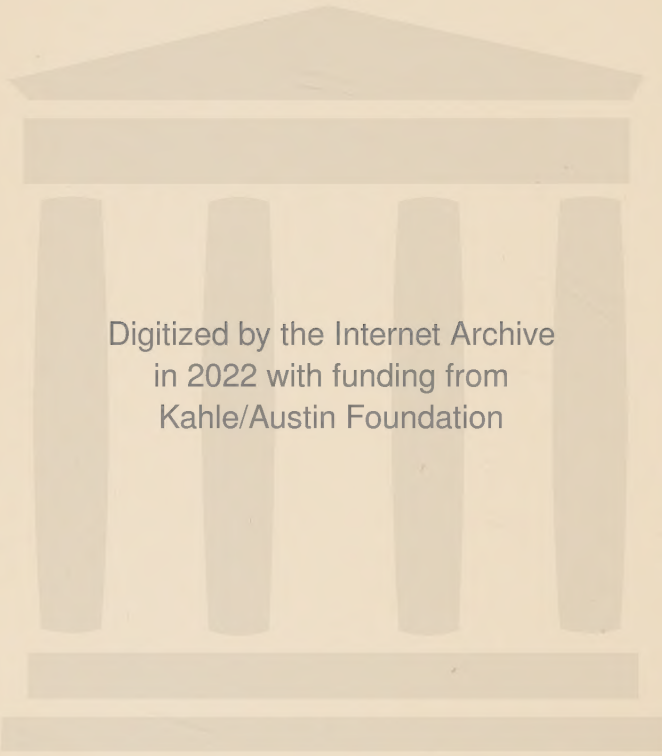


ITALY HER PEOPLE AND THEIR STORY



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Italy: Her People and Their Story



QUEEN HELENE.

ITALY

HER PEOPLE AND THEIR STORY

A POPULAR HISTORY
OF THE BEGINNING, RISE, DEVELOPMENT, AND
PROGRESS OF ITALY FROM THE TIME OF
ROMULUS TO THAT OF VICTOR
EMANUEL III.

BY
AUGUSTA (HALE) GIFFORD
AUTHOR OF
"GERMANY: HER PEOPLE AND THEIR STORY"

*ILLUSTRATED FROM
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BOSTON
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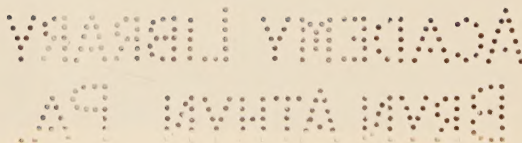
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ITALY



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I DEDICATE THIS BOOK TO MY HUSBAND
GEORGE GIFFORD
FROM WHOSE GENIUS I RECEIVED MY EARLIEST
LITERARY ASPIRATIONS
AND TO WHOSE ENCOURAGEMENT I OWE WHATEVER
SUCCESS I HAVE HAD IN LETTERS

INTRODUCTION

FROM the dawn of Italy's history the Italian's impressionable nature has responded in life and literature to the ardor of the scholar, the illusion of the painter, and the touch of the musician's hand; and thus research in every avenue connected with this most fascinating people is attractive in the extreme.

Italy is one of the most discussed subjects of the day, both on account of the great number of Americans who visit the country each year and also because it has recently come into notice as a kingdom in process of large development, which is likely to result in its finally assuming a place as one of the leading nations.

More and more is written each year concerning Italy's aims, aspirations, probabilities, and chances. Hence the necessity of a work telling the deeds of the people from earliest times has become most urgent. This is especially the case since, of late, early Roman history, with its captivating legends, has been relegated, for the most part, to the Latin authors, while people in general have grown rusty with regard to the old classic tales which formerly were household words.

With reference also to modern Italian history for the past few decades, little concerning it has been put into concise readable form, and a great demand has all at once sprung up for a bright, brief, entertaining, authentic account of events in Italy since her consolidation as a united kingdom in 1870.

No country has produced more intensely interesting historical characters than are found in both ancient and modern Italy ; and the deepest regret is entertained that in the comparatively small space it is possible to give this vast subject, the greater part of what is most absorbing in the lives of eminent Italians must be left out. Accordingly, with few exceptions, we have only tried in the regular routine of the work to present distinguished Italian statesmen and scholars and the earlier old togated Romans, as they appear in the foreground of what they really accomplished, leaving the reader to elaborate their lives from biographies and histories which take up topics in detail. In some cases also, where matters relating to both Germany and Italy were treated thoroughly in our "*Germany: Her People and Their Story*," we have here only referred to such subjects superficially.

Much of the material for this volume was collected during long absences abroad, with frequent sojourns in Italy, where access was gained to many books and historical papers in the original Italian as well as in other foreign languages. These furnished us information not obtainable in works hitherto published in English, while items concerning events transpiring in Italy during the past few years have been gleaned from magazines and general current literature in Italian, as they have appeared from month to month. Thus the civic and political conditions of Italy as a new kingdom have been determined from the popular home sentiment.

Among writers consulted in the course of the work, besides books referred to at odd times, the names of which have often not been kept in mind are: Plutarch, Livy, Gibbon, Niebuhr, Mommsen, Symonds, Sismondi,

Macaulay, Liddell, Abbott, Hunt, Mrs. Oliphant, Orsi, Spalding, Sforzosi, Yonge, and Marston.

In addition to these, research has been made among all the encyclopedias and bound and unbound volumes of magazines, both old and new, containing articles on contemporary Italian history.

In order to render this work most valuable as a book of reference we have endeavored to make the index at the close of the volume exceptionally copious and exhaustive.

A. H. G.

PORTLAND, ME., 1905.

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PART I

ITALY:

HER PEOPLE AND THEIR STORY

CHAPTER I

THE EARLY LEGENDARY HISTORY OF ROME.—FOUNDING OF THE CITY.

753 B.C.

LEGENDARY history tells us that the high Promontory of Leuca, the Finisterra of Italy, was the point of land which Æneas first espied after leaving the hospitable shores of Epirus in his escape from burning Troy. It was after this, while he was sailing along the coast of Sicily, that the jealous ire of cruel Juno stirred up a tempest, which tossed Æneas' little squadron on the coast of Carthage. Here he met Queen Dido, and in his infatuation for her forgot his debt of gratitude to the gods and the high destiny awaiting him as the founder of a great nation. But after months of idle tarrying, spurred on to his duty by friendly deities, he left the sorrowing queen, and, setting sail, at length anchored at Cumæ, near the present Gulf of Gaëta, thus named because here Æneas built a tomb for the ashes of his old nurse, Caieta.

Mythical accounts like this, and succeeding fabulous stories from Virgil and Livy, have been received as popular Roman history since the earliest centuries; but in these later years of realism a reaction has taken place in favor of passing over most of the old-time fascinating fables, and mentioning only a

few meager events, which have come down to us as facts out of the dim ages of antiquity.

Yet, notwithstanding it is acknowledged that the stories of the old Romans, up to the time of the First Samnite War, are for the most part legends, many landmarks in stone and marble, found in the ruins of ancient Rome, are vouchers for a grain of truth in much that has been handed down. Among these are the Temple of Castor and Pollux, parts of the old Servian Wall, and that great marvel of all the ages, the Cloaca Maxima. Besides these and other discoveries, so much discussed by scientists and chronologists, there were uncovered in 1903, in the course of excavations still going on in the Forum, the remnants of an old cemetery, antedating anything hitherto brought to light. This is supposed to have been the burial place of ancient Latins. These revelations, which are of great value to historical research, not only confirm the earliest traditions, but point to a settlement considerably prior to the foundation of the city by Romulus.

With the exception of such disclosures, confirmed by scientific authority, reliable Roman history can date only from the destruction of Rome by the Gauls in 390 B.C.; for in this general catastrophe all ancient records, which, though necessarily primitive, would have been of incalculable value, were lost. Nevertheless, since nothing satisfactory has taken the place of the tales of Virgil and Livy, the attention of the reader is better maintained, and a more classic and genuine interest in ancient Italy created, by introducing Roman history with the legends related in the narratives of these writers. This is especially feasible, since, for the most part, the improba-

bilities of the mythical are so manifest, that there is little danger of confounding truth with fiction.

When the Trojans landed in the Bay of Gæta they ate up their last remaining morsel, and afterwards, half-starved, devoured the cakes, or, as some say, the herbs, which had served as plates. Then little Ascanius, who had escaped from the siege of Troy with his father, cried out: "We are eating up our tables." Æneas, remembering that the Harpies on the Ionian shores had prophesied to him and his fugitive band that the Trojans would not be able to build a city until hunger had forced them to devour their trenchers, now perceived that he had reached the end of his wanderings; and in accordance with the prediction of the prophet Toelemus, they rested on the spot where they found thirty little swine. It is said that the morning-star had been visible to the Trojans each day during their seven years' voyage, but when their journeyings were over it disappeared, and was seen no more.

Fortune smiled upon the new colony; for Latinus, the king of the country, was friendly, and soon betrothed his daughter Lavinia to the wandering Trojan, who then built a city, naming it Lavinium for his bride. Here they enjoyed great happiness for three years, notwithstanding that Turnus, Lavinia's former suitor, found ground for frequent quarrels; but Æneas at last succeeded in vanquishing him by the aid of Evander, who had established a colony on the Palatine Hill half a century before.

Finally in a battle with the Rutulians, Æneas disappeared near the banks of the Numicius; it was said, snatched away by the gods; and he was ever after worshiped as the "God of the Country."

For thirty years Ascanius dwelt in Lavinium with his stepmother, Lavinia, and his half-brother, Æneas Sylvius. But, admonished by the augury of the thirty young swine that his reign there would now be over, he built a new city fifteen miles to the southeast of the present Rome, leaving his stepmother to rule in the stalwart state of Lavinium.

Above the old monastery of Palazzuola, between Lake Alba and Monte Cavo, there is to-day a mass of rock, chiseled by time. These ruins, it is said, mark the original location of Alba Longa, the Long White City, to which Ascanius then laid the cornerstone, and which afterwards became the capital of Latium. The Latin tribes were accustomed to go up to Monte Cavo to worship in the Temple of Jupiter Latiaris, now supposed to be a part of the "Passionist" Monastery. Here also they decided matters of state in the Sacred Grove near the Spring of Ferentia.

During three hundred years fifteen generations ruled at Alba. Much significance was attached, in deciding Rome's fate as a nation, to the combination of the three, in the three years Æneas reigned, in the thirty years that Ascanius held the throne at Lavinium, and in the three hundred years of the dynasty of the Sylvii.

The family name of Sylvii originated in the legend that Æneas Sylvius, the son of Lavinia and the Trojan Æneas, was born in the woods (*sylvii*); and after this epoch the surname Sylvius was given to all who reigned at Alba. Latinus, the son of Æneas Sylvius, planted several colonies, whose inhabitants are said by some to have been the ancient Latins, though other theorists claim that the Latins were formed from the union of the aborigines and Trojans. Latinus' son

was Alba; then followed Atys, and afterwards Capys and Capetis; Tiberinus was drowned in the river Albula, and it was after this that the stream was called the Tiber; his successor was Agrippa, and after him followed Romulus Sylvius, who was struck by lightning. Then came Aventinus, who was buried on one of the Seven Hills, thenceforth called the Aventine. Procas, who succeeded him, was the father of Numitor and Amulius.

In the division of their father's estate, Amulius chose the treasure, which he immediately used in usurping the kingdom, Numitor's rightful share; and after having slain the latter's son, he made his daughter, Rhea Sylvia, a Vestal Virgin, in order to cut off all danger of heirs through his brother.

"But," as Livy, writing in the age of Augustus, puts it, "the Fates, I suppose, demanded the foundation of the great city, and the final establishment of an Empire, which is now in power next to the Immortal Gods"; for Rhea Sylvia had two little boys.

Although the Vestal claimed that Mars was their father, neither gods nor men came to her rescue, and she was cast into prison while her babies were put in a basket and thrown into the shallowest part of the Tiber. This spot in dry seasons was only a marsh, but later, after having been drained, became the Roman Forum. The plausibility of this situation became apparent, when, as recently as 1900, the Forum with its excavated treasures was again submerged for many weeks.

When the flood subsided the children's tiny bark was found near a wild fig-tree, afterwards worshiped as the *Ficus Rominalis*. The twins themselves were nursed by a wolf and fed by a wood-pecker in a cave

called "Lupercus," until discovered by the king's herdsman, Faustulus, whose wife, Laurentia, brought them up to boyhood in the "Casa Romuli." The supposed remains of all these sites are still shown on the slope of the Palatine Hill; and in honor of the sentiment of the legend a bronze wolf was, in 296 B.C., by a decree of the Senate, placed in the Lupercus on its present pedestal. This statue is said to have been the same now preserved in the Capitol. In February of the same year a festival called the Lupercalia was celebrated, when, besides a general observation of religious rites, the noble Patrician youths exhibited their agility and strength in athletic exercises.

Time went by; and while Numitor and Amulius remained still unreconciled, Romulus and Remus, as the king's herdsmen, were making themselves conspicuous by the great prowess they showed in contests with Numitor's shepherds. Therefore when they were at one time brought before their grandfather to settle some injuries done to his flocks, Faustulus felt that the time had come to restore them to the rights of their royal inheritance, and brought forth the little basket in which the babes had lain when tossing on the restless Tiber.

Many years had passed, but the sight of the tiny cradle awoke anew the grief of Numitor for the loss of Rhea Sylvia. The suspicions in the old man's mind were confirmed by the striking resemblance of Romulus to his mother, and the twins were informed of their royal descent.

Collecting an army, the two boys made use of their military skill to some purpose in driving Amulius from the throne of the Sylvii; and, after slaying the usurper, they established their grandfather at Alba

Longa, where he reigned until a good old age, and died honored by his people.

The three hundred years predicted for the Sylvii now having passed, the boys determined to go back to the scenes of their childhood and build a new city on one of the Seven Hills. Since from the point of age neither could claim precedence, their grandfather advised them to appeal to the gods with respect to the choice of location. Romulus therefore stationed himself on the Palatine, and Remus on what is now the Aventine, to watch the signs from heaven. Each was declared king by his followers at the same instant; for Remus claimed the priority because he was first and saw six vultures, while Romulus demanded the preference, because a moment after he had espied twice as many. Accordingly the latter immediately commenced to build a city.

Before the houses were erected Romulus, by means of a plowshare, threw up a little wall of earth, which Remus, wrought up to a high pitch of jealousy, cleared at one leap, laughing scornfully. Whereupon Romulus in anger slew his brother, saying: "So perish everyone who shall hereafter leap over my wall." Thus in 753 B.C. Romulus became sole ruler, and the famous little city which he built was named, after him, Rome.

Another legend claims that Romulus had too much affection for his brother to slay him, even in anger, and that it was his friend Celer who took the life of Remus, and afterwards, to escape punishment, ran as fast as possible and hid among the Etruscans. From his swiftness, comes our word "celerity"; and such as were swift of foot, or expeditious in business, were ever after called Celeres by the Romans. Thus the

bodyguard of the king, which consisted of a number of agile young men, was also called by this name.

After founding the city Romulus erected the "Roma Quadrata," a new strong wall, and around, inside and outside, he left a clear space designated as the Pomœrium, which was considered holy, and which he consecrated to the gods. Perceiving that no organization could exist without laws, he gave the city a reliable code, at the same time adding to his own dignity by appointing twelve lictors to go before and attend him. The word lictor was from *ligare*, to bind, because these servants were ready to seize and bind any who were disorderly.

CHAPTER II

REIGN OF ROMULUS.—THE INSTITUTION OF THE SATURNALIA AND ITS RELATION TO PRESENT HOLIDAY SEASON.—PEOPLING OF ROME.—UNION WITH SABINES AND ETRUSCANS.—DISAPPEARANCE OF ROMULUS.

753 B.C.—715 B.C.

THE most cultivated among the nations who watched the progress of the Romans, as they fortified their city on the hills, were the Etruscans. This people understood the art of divination, and were the early makers of books, which were supposed to contain the written will of the gods to men, while their government was so well constituted that Romulus took many of Rome's wise laws from their code. Some have thought that the Etruscans, like many Italian races, were of Pelasgic origin; though others give credit to the idea that they came from Lydia, their colony settling primarily in Italy near the mouth of the Po. In the beginning, they exceeded in valor all other Italian nations, but afterwards, having become enervated by luxury, they lost their pristine strength, and separated into small republics and principalities, so that they were near the end of their long and prosperous career when Rome was built.

The Sabines, also neighbors of the Romans, copied their institutions from the Greeks, who had already settled in southern Italy, and at an earlier date had built the great Grecian temples at Pæstum.

All these people were heathen and worshiped many

gods. They had their Lares and Penates, and poured libations to their ancestors. Each city was watched over by a guardian spirit, and every stream was inhabited by nymphs who sang their lyrics to the passers-by. The fields and husbandry were sacred to the god Saturn, who had brought to the land a golden age, when all from the highest to the lowest were free.

The Saturnalia was observed from a very early date by the rural population of Italy as a kind of Harvest Home or Thanksgiving. The origin of this celebration to Saturn and Ops is reputed to have originated at the time of Romulus, in commemoration of the victory of the Romans over the Sabines; and Tullus Hostilius is said to have made the festival permanent. Augustus afterwards decreed that the 17th and 18th of December should be sacred to Saturn, and the 19th and 20th to Ops. Caligula added a fifth day, until it finally became a festival of seven days, extending to the 24th, during which time the places of learning were closed and everything was given up to general mirth. It took the place that Christmas holds to-day; and, although at present in Italy the Christmas festivities are mainly religious, being celebrated in the churches with gorgeous ritual display, among the masses the spirit of the Saturnalia runs through the entire holiday season, commencing a little before Christmas and ending on Epiphany, the 6th of January, which is the real Christmas of the Roman populace. For, up to the last of the fourth century, the 25th of December was not reckoned as the date of Christ's birth, but the 6th of January, which was supposed to commemorate both his advent and his baptism.

The Christian part of Epiphany is now almost obsolete, but the Pagan part, called the "Befana" (from Bethphania) is the old Saturnalia revived. The presents of the poor, which are given on that day, are also called "Befana," while the Italian youngsters greet the benevolent person whom young American children are acquainted with as Santa Claus, as their good "Befana"; though the real "Befana" is now supposed by the children to be Santa Claus' wife, the beneficent dispenser of all their good gifts. The people celebrate the occasion by making as much noise as possible, men, women and children running, shouting and laughing during the whole night, the center of all this hilarity being the Piazza Navona, the old Agonale Circus in Rome.

The custom which prevails among the wealthy of making their presents, "Strenna," as they are called, at New Year's, date back to legendary times. The temple of the old goddess Strenna was formerly located in ancient Rome, surrounded by hygienic plants, especially the verbenas. In the first days of the year the priests of Strenna's temple distributed this plant with great ceremony, and to receive a branch of it on New Year's Day was called receiving a Strenna. (From this word the French also have derived *Etrences*, their word for Christmas present.)

Gradually the verbenas gave place to flowers, fruits and cakes covered with gold leaf; afterwards toys, trinkets and jewelry were introduced. At last the Strenna became so expensive that sometimes whole families were reduced to poverty by fulfilling the obligations attending the custom; and its abuse became so excessive that those in authority were accustomed to receive a Strenna even from the poor. Caligula

imprisoned and fined people for non-fulfillment of the observance, and the great Emperor Augustus is said not only to have taken New Year's gifts from the common people, but to have gone about the streets of Rome on New Year's Eve in the attitude of soliciting them.

In ancient Rome the old Greek gods took Latin names; and since the people in all time have worshiped in their deities traits in harmony with their own most marked characteristics, and then have tried "to grow like their gods," the Latins, who were a fierce, hardy and matter-of-fact people, scorned the idealism of the Greek religion, and thought of their gods as stable and reliable in directing the affairs of men.

Romulus, when he founded Rome, took with him fifty Trojan families and a considerable number of Albans and Latins, at least a thousand, all of whom lived in houses built of concrete with thatched roofs. But he soon saw that some more effective means must be provided for peopling the town, and accordingly set apart an enclosure, called the "Pass of the Two Groves," as a retreat for obscure persons and the rabble generally, and as a sanctuary or place of refuge for those who had shed blood. This part of the city was called the "Asylum," because outlaws flocked in crowds from the neighboring region.

Romulus formed the young men into legions, consisting of three thousand foot and three hundred horse, and from the rest of the multitude, which he denominated the "people," he chose a hundred for his council, which was styled the "Senate," signifying an assembly of old men. Its members were called Patricians, because in contrast to most of the vulgar herd they

could boast of a lineage, of ancestors—fathers; though some say it was because they were delegated to watch with fatherly care over those in the humbler stations of life.

There was but one serious drawback to this new nation's lasting greatness—the Romans had no wives. Fortunately, however, the Sabines, their nearest neighbors, were overburdened with women, who no doubt worried their brothers and fathers with their restless longings to visit the little town Romulus had built and fortified so well; while the Roman youths no less eagerly cast their eyes toward the beautiful Sabine maidens. Ambassadors were despatched to all the adjacent peoples soliciting alliance in marriage for Rome's sons with their daughters, Romulus urging as an inducement that, since the gods had favored her beginning, great power and glory and a great name no doubt awaited Rome. But the nations received all such overtures with contempt, demanding of the Romans why they had not also set up a refuge for women, since this would equalize the chances for a suitable union. The Roman youths, resenting the insinuation, declared that they would accept none but the fairest and best for their wives; and accordingly no compromise could be made.

Finally, influenced by the advice of the aged Numitor, Romulus invited all the people of the neighboring states to a feast in honor of Neptune, and the Sabine women, with their neighbors, and their husbands and fathers, very joyfully and eagerly put on their best attire and congregated at Rome. When the feast and revels were at their height, each Roman youth at a given signal seized a Sabine maiden and carried her to his home, nearly seven hundred charming girls

being taken. Their marriage was immediately celebrated with suitable nuptial ceremonies, the same which were practised during the next twelve centuries.

Some of the maidens were borne away at hazard, while others, of surpassing charm, were reserved for the leading Senators of the city, and conveyed by the clients or lower orders to the more pretentious homes of their masters. One very beautiful girl was designed for Talassius, a Roman noble, and in answer to those demanding to whom they were hurrying her, they at intervals cried out: "To Talassius! to Talassius!" and this word was ever after used as a part of the marriage service, furnishing the refrain as the bride was borne over the threshold to her husband's home. To keep the fact in mind that Roman wives had first been obtained by force, the custom of carrying them over the threshold was continued, and the bride's hair was parted with the point of a spear, in memory of the warlike manner in which they first were wooed and won. In after times the spear was, if possible, dipped in the blood of a gladiator, as a guarantee of a warlike and valiant posterity.

The maidens taken were at first as enraged as their fathers and mothers; but Romulus, accompanied by his wife Hersilia, the only married woman captured, went about reminding them that, had their parents not refused to negotiate, the Romans would have been glad to win them chivalrously. He assured them that their husbands would exhibit by affection and kindness due appreciation of their sacrifice, and that they ought to reserve their judgment until future events should prove the truth of his statements.

The issue of the episode justified the assertion of

Romulus, for the young Romans were so glad to obtain their prizes that they proved indulgent and loving husbands, doing everything for the comfort of their wives, who soon became endeared to them; and in a short time the girls were no less attached to these brave youths. The seizure of the maidens took place on the 18th of August, after Rome was founded on the 21st of April, 753 B.C.

When the parents retired they felt that their daughters were the same as dead to them; and all the nations appealed for redress to Titus Tatius, king of the Sabines, as he was considered first throughout the land. But the Ceninensians, who had suffered the greatest loss, not able to brook the tardiness of the latter, in coming to their rescue against Romulus, engaged single-handed with the Romans, and were beaten without ceremony, their chief, Acron, being slain in single combat, and his arms taken. Romulus carried these to a sacred grove, and there dedicated a temple to Jove, as Jupiter Ferretrius, saying: "I, Romulus, the King, offer to thee these royal arms, and dedicate a temple to thee on the spot which I have made a repository for these grand spoils; and, after my example, generals in the future shall offer such trophies to the gods on slaying the kings or generals of their enemies." This was the origin of the first temple consecrated in Rome. Ever after, trophies thus won by a general from the leader of the enemy were called "*Spolia Opima*," and were only gained on two other occasions during the entire period of Roman history.

After a year or two the Sabines of Cures under Titus Tatius woke up anew to their wrongs in the seizure of the maidens, and with a large force ad-

vanced to what was then called the Saturnian Hill, since known as the Capitoline, where Romulus had already built a citadel and placed it under the command of the faithful Tarpeius. The latter had a daughter, Tarpeia, who, when she went out to bring water for the sacred rites, was bribed by the Sabine soldiers to admit them. They promised to give her that which they wore on their left arms, understood to be their golden armlets and rings; but they also carried their shields on their left arms, and when inside the fortress they heaped these upon her, and thus took her life. This incident gave the name of Tarpeian Rock to the cliff over which criminals were afterwards thrown, near the Capitol, the site of the old stronghold; and this is all that is left to commemorate Tarpeia's treachery.

The Sabines occasionally made raids upon the Palatine from the Capitoline, of which they were still in possession, until the Romans were obliged to draw up their forces in the swampy valley between these two hills adjacent to the Forum. The Romans in their disadvantageous assault upon the citadel were supported by Hostius Hostilius, while Mettius Curtius led out the troops of the Sabines, and drove the Romans back to the old gate of the Palatine. Romulus, being forced along in the midst of the fleeing army, in his extremity cried out: "O Jupiter! directed by thy auspices, I, on the Palatine Hill, laid the first foundation of my city. Father of gods and men, remove dismay from the minds of the Romans and stop their shameful flight. I vow a temple here to thee, Jupiter Stator, as a testimony of thy immediate aid." Then he, as though he knew that his prayer was answered, called to the Romans, and they,



INTERVENTION OF ROMAN WIVES LED BY HERSILIA.

as though they had heard a voice from heaven, turned back, and with Romulus at their front, renewed the fight.

Meanwhile Mettus Curtius rushed down from the citadel crying out: "We have conquered these traitors to hospitality, and have taught them that it is one thing to carry off virgins, and another to fight with men." But Romulus attacked him and drove him into the water, which covered what is now the Roman Forum, but which for many years after this was called the Curtian Lake in memory of the brave Curtius.

The engagement was renewed with redoubled fury; and just at this crisis, when, as some historians say, the Romans were bound to be victorious; but when, it would appear, from the outcome of the matter, that the Sabines were getting the upper hand, the wives of the Romans, fearing for the safety of their husbands, rushed forth with disheveled hair, Hersilia, the wife of Romulus being the foremost to intercede. With their babes in their arms they threw themselves between their fathers and husbands, crying out that since they were the cause of all the strife, and since now they were not willing to leave their husbands and children and homes, it would be better to be slain than to be left widows. Then, a peace having been made, the two nations were combined in one, the seat of the Empire being at Rome. Some of the conditions of peace were these: That those women who chose to remain with their husbands should be exempt from all labor except spinning, and that towards them no disrespect of any kind should be permitted. The custom of gentlemen stepping aside for ladies to pass originated as one of the concessions.

The Sabines were assigned the hill which was then called the Quirinal, from their town, Cures, *quires* signifying a lance. Though the original city retained the name of Rome, the inhabitants after this were called Quirites, and even Romulus himself seems to have been forced to take the name of Quirinus, a lance-bearer. Niebuhr claims that the original Sabines lived in a village by the name Quirinum, or what is now the Quirinal Hill. The number of the citizens was now doubled, and the government was divided into three districts, the Ramnenses, from Romulus, the Titienses from Titus Tatius, and the Luceres from Luca, meaning a grove, because it was made up of the foreign element which had taken refuge in the Luca or the Sanctuary; and it was also the division set apart for any strangers who should afterwards join the Romans. Niebuhr says that it was the Albans who for the most part made up the Luceres. From this time the Sabines who became a part of Rome and the rest of the Sabines were two separate nations.

Each tribe was divided into ten wards, also called ten curiæ; and at stated times all the citizens assembled in the Comitium or meeting place; but only Ramnenses and Titienses were allowed to send Senators, ten for each of their separate curiæ, making two hundred in all. Each curia had its own priest, called a curio, and its own place of worship; and on certain days the people feasted together and made sacrifices in places set apart. The thirty curiæ were named from the noblest of the women who had brought about the peace, and the body was called the Comitia Curiata, or Assembly of the Curia. A festival called the Matronalia was established in their

honor on the Calends of March, the first day of their New Year.

Thus it seems that the Romans must have been badly beaten by the Sabines, since the latter evidently made their own terms. It has well been said that had the neighboring tribes consolidated instead of attacking Rome singly, they could, at this early date, have blotted out the Roman nation.

A portion of the Etruscans had assisted the Romans in this war, and were allowed to become members of the new community, and to occupy the hill called the Cælian, from Cæles Vibenna, one of their chiefs. Now these four of the Seven Hills—the Palatine, the Quirinal, the Cælian, and the Saturnian for the citadel—were combined into one city. Romulus is said to have lived at the foot of the Palatine Hill on the side towards the Circus Maximus.

There appears to have been a good deal of secret bad feeling on the part of the Romans against the Sabines, for not long after the union, when Titus Tatius, while sacrificing at Lavinium, was slain by the Latins, Romulus, instead of going to war with that nation, made a new league with them.

Romulus now reigned alone for thirty-seven years, legislating wisely in peace and war, though his veto was never valid over the majority of the *curiæ*. The most forcible Roman laws which existed afterwards dated from Romulus' time.

As his influence increased, Romulus assumed kingly manners and regal attire, and though he was much beloved by his army and by the people, the Senate accused him of usurping power belonging to them, and felt that their dignity was insulted. One day as he was reviewing his army near the Lake

of Capra a sudden tempest arose, accompanied by violent thunder and lightning, and when serene weather was restored the royal seat was vacant. The Roman youths who composed his bodyguard were told by the Senators that Romulus had been snatched away and carried up on high in the storm. Out of the mournful silence which followed this announcement a salute arose to Romulus, himself a god, and the son of Mars. The Senate then piously implored his favor for the city of Rome, whose parent he was.

Although no doubt the Senators had put Romulus out of the way, the minds of the people were set at rest when Proculus Julius, a person whose testimony they believed, announced in the assembly: "Romans, yesterday, at the dawn of day, Romulus, the parent of this our city, appeared before me from the skies. 'Go,' said he, 'tell the Romans that it is the will of the gods that my Rome be the metropolis of the world. Let their first thought be to cultivate the arts of war; and let posterity understand that no human power will be able to withstand the Roman arms.' After these words he vanished from my sight." Then the citizens believed that Romulus was with the Immortal Gods and grieved no more. He was fifty-four years old when he died, and in the thirty-eighth of his reign.

CHAPTER III

NUMA, TULLUS HOSTILIUS, THE HORATII.—ANCUS
MARCIVS.—ELECTION OF TARQUINIUS PRISCUS.

715 B.C.—615 B.C.

THE Romans had not yet realized either the sweets of liberty or the despotism of sovereignty, and accordingly all were satisfied that the successor of Romulus should be a king; but since there was no marked man in Rome, it became a political question whether they were authorized to seek a ruler outside the city.

Their deliberations lasted for a whole year, during which time the kingdom was governed by Decuriæ, ten persons, one from each ten of the Senators, every Decurion governing for five successive days. The Decuriæ were called "*inter-reges*" (between kings), and the time during which they ruled was called an Interregnum. This was the forerunner of many like disastrous eras, which have since plunged the people of the world into anarchy.

At last they found in the Sabine district a man named Numa Pompilius, who was famous for his justice and piety. By a curious coincidence he was born on the very day of the founding of Rome, the 21st of April, 753, and when he grew up to manhood he married Titus Tatius' daughter. In spite of the pagan environment of that era, he united in his character the gentleness of the heathen philosopher and the fervor of the Christian. Notwith-

standing that the balance of power would thus be given to the Sabines, on account of his virtues his election was unanimous, and when the oracles proved favorable he was at last prevailed upon to accept the trust.

Numa at once determined that in contrast to that of Romulus, his reign should be one of tranquillity; and accordingly he discharged the Celeres, a band of three hundred soldiers who had been Romulus' bodyguard. One of his most lasting memorials was the Temple of Janus, a covered passage, the gates of which, one at each end, were closed as a sign of peace, and kept open in time of war. These were shut only three times during the period of ancient Roman history. Numa is also famous as a civic as well as a religious reformer. Romulus had established no boundaries for fear of showing to what extent he had encroached on his neighbors' territory; but Numa proceeded to introduce the worship of the god Terminus by marking out the limits of Roman domain, and securing each man in his borders. In memory of this division, he established the festivals of the Terminalia and Pagnalia, and it was he who determined the holidays and common days, calling the former "Nefasti," and the latter "Dies Fasti." He also was the first to divide the people into guilds, according to their trades, assigning to each a special patron god.

The calendar of Romulus had consisted of only ten months of varied length, until Numa ordained that the year should include twelve lunar months and one day over, adding January and February, and thus making in all three hundred and fifty days, arranged in such a way that each year the days coincided very

nearly with the position of the sun in which they had begun the year before. This calendar was used until the time of Cæsar. The month January was so called from the two-faced Janus, because it stood at the door of the year, with one of its faces gazing backward to all the varied joys and sorrows of a multitude of people, and the other looking forward, bright with expectation to the realization of brilliant hopes.

Numa loved husbandry and the peaceful arts, and would have no living thing sacrificed, allowing only corn and fruits of the earth to be brought to the temples to appease the gods.

After Numa had established the nation in the practice of morals and law, he directed people's minds to piety; and, recognizing the fact that nothing tones down the wild passions of crude humanity like a permanent religion, he endeavored to inspire in them a fear of the gods.

From a grove a little outside of Rome there flowed a rivulet fed by a perpetual spring. This was the sacred meeting-place where the goddess Egeria introduced Numa to the assembly of her sisters; and under her teachings he regulated the whole system of the Roman religion. A legend says that at Egeria's appearance in Numa's councils of state the plain fare he set before his guests was turned at once into a banquet served on golden plates—a feast fit for the gods.

By the advice of the nymph Egeria, Numa bound the deities Picus and Faunus in chains, so that he might always have them at hand to disclose to him the secret of access to Jupiter. When Rome was threatened with a pestilence the Father of the gods threw down the shield of Mars and, lest the sacred

emblem should be lost, Numa had eleven copies made so that the genuine talisman might never be recognized and stolen. He then appointed twelve priests, called "Mars Gravidus," not only to guard them but to perform many offices of religion in connection with their worship. He created four flamens, or priests of Jupiter and Mars, appointed four augurs, increased the number of Vestals and elected four pontiffs, the chief of whom was Pontifex Maximus. This office was held by the most distinguished men in Rome, and in a way the Pontifex Maximus took the place afterwards occupied by the Universal Bishop in the Christian Church. Numa consecrated a temple to the Vestal Virgins; and in order that they might be free from worldly care granted an annuity for their support. Near the Temple of Vesta he built a palace for himself, and another on the Quirinal.

By all these offices Numa kept the people from idleness and diverted their thoughts from violence and arms; so that, while the neighboring nations had formerly regarded Rome as a camp, pitched in the midst of a plain for the purpose of general warfare, they now entertained such a respect for Numa and his institutions that it was deemed impious to give trouble to a state occupied in the worship of the gods.

In the Campagna, near the Temple of Deus Ridiculus, there is still seen the so-called Grotto of Egeria; and from it runs a little brook reputed to be the same which was then sacred to the Muse. When Numa died, Egeria from grief is said to have melted away into this fountain.

The true religious spirit which ennobled all Numa's superstitions caused his reign of forty-three years to outshine in brilliancy that of all the other legen-

dary kings. Numa and Romulus have since been justly called and regarded as the true founders of Rome; since, at Numa's death in 761 B.C., the nation had been established by them respectively in both the arts of peace and war. Numa was buried according to his own instructions near the Janiculum, and the Twelve Books, containing his religion and philosophy, were buried with him.

The next king elected was Tullus Hostilius, the grandson of Hostius Hostilius, who had fought at the foot of the citadel on the Saturnian Hill. Thinking that a nation could gain glory and renown only in martial pursuits, Tullus conceived many subterfuges for war.

At one time, when the Roman and Alban armies were drawn up in battle array, the idea was advanced that whereas a general engagement would give the Etruscans the advantage over the defeated nation, the Romans could avoid weakening themselves by deciding the contest in single combat. Therefore three of the Horatii, on the side of the Roman nation, and three of the Curatii, on the side of the Albans, volunteered as champions.

After a prolonged fight the Curatii were at last all wounded, and two of the Horatii were dead, while the third was still unharmed. This last Horatius knew that he could slay each of the Curatii singly, but that the three together would conquer him. Accordingly, he pretended to flee. But, when he saw the most vigorous far ahead, Horatius stopped in his flight and slew him; and the second and the third coming up he despatched them in their turn. Accordingly the Romans were adjudged victorious, and Horatius was received with great applause.

On returning, however, flushed with victory, Horatius met at the door of his house his sister, who was betrothed to one of the Curatii. When she saw her brother, laden with spoils, and noticed the vestment, now dyed with gore, which she with her own hands had wrought and given to her lover, she knew that the latter had fallen, and wept. Horatius, upon seeing his sister's tears, struck her dead, saying: "Thus perish every daughter of Rome who shall mourn for its enemies." Although the Senate and people appreciated the glory of his recent victory, they were shocked at this unnatural deed, and hurried Horatius before the judgment-seat. Since, according to the law, he could not be acquitted, the verdict was this: "Publius Horatius, I sentence thee to punishment as a murderer. Go, lictor, bind his hands!" But the father extenuated his son's guilt, and made an eloquent plea. Pointing to the spoils of the Curatii, hung up in a place where afterwards stood a column to the Horatii, he said: "Oh, my fellow-citizens, can you bear to behold him condemned to ignominy and torture, whom you just saw marching in triumph, and covered with the ornaments of victory." He then reminded them that he, who had a few hours before been surrounded by an illustrious progeny, would now be left childless if the life of his son were taken.

Horatius was pardoned; but for the sake of the example the father was ordered to make a sacrifice, and the son was condemned to pass under a beam, which during all the years of the ancient kings was kept suspended across the street at the public expense as a warning.

Thus the Albans became subject to Tullus Hostilius. Although both nations had sprung from the Trojans

who had settled at Lavinium, the Albans had become by intermarriage such a treacherous race that Tullus was finally obliged to dismantle their cities and bring their citizens to Rome. He gave them homes on the Cælian Hill, which had earlier been allotted to the Etruscans, and built a palace for himself amongst them. He placed the best of their chief men in the Senate, and doubled the number of the Roman knights by adding three hundred of the Alban nation.

Tullus Hostilius was the first to alleviate the condition of the poor. He did this by dividing up the lands taken from conquered nations, which had heretofore been regarded as perquisites of the throne. But, unlike Numa, he showed no suitable reverence for the gods, and accordingly these offended deities smote Rome with a plague, and in 639 B.C. struck Hostilius with lightning, after an energetic reign of thirty-two years.

The Sabine noble, Ancus Marcius, grandson and worthy descendant of old Numa, was next chosen king. He immediately had the laws of Numa written out on white tablets and set up in the Forum. Like his predecessor, he loved peace; and the Latins, thinking that he would occupy his reign among chapels and altars, took courage, and invaded Roman territory; but Ancus Marcius soon saw that the new nations, which had been lately added, were too crude to be governed by law and religion alone, and that peace could only be preserved by means of arms. Accordingly, there were many wars, and the Latin cities extending from Rome to the sea which had not previously been destroyed became subject provinces. Ancus Marcius brought some of the inhabitants to Rome, many of them noble by birth, and gave them,

with others of a class neither Patrician nor clients, homes on the Aventine, the fifth hill added to the city; and, whereas, hitherto there had only been patrons or burgesses and their clients, there now originated a class called the Plebeians or Plebs, Ancus Marcius ever after being called the Father of the Plebeians. These had no part in the government, neither could they intermarry with the Patricians, but, unlike the clients, they were subject to no power excepting the law and the king. If a Patrician died, leaving no heirs, his clients were freed and added to this class.

Ancus Marcius constructed the first bridge over the Tiber, calling it the Pons Sublicius. He fortified the Janiculum against incursions from the Etruscans, laid out Ostia as a seaport of Rome, and built a prison under the Saturnian Hill, which when enlarged by Servius Tullius was called the Tullianum, the same which is at present known as the Mamertine Prison. He reigned twenty-four years, and passed away tranquilly in 615 B.C., having united the courage of Romulus to all the virtues of Numa Pompilius. He vanquished every foe who invaded Roman territory in his reign, and extended the limits of his dominion on all sides, besides embellishing and enlarging Rome itself.

During the reign of Ancus Marcius a wealthy Corinthian of the Lucomo, a class of nobility in his native country, came and settled at Rome. His riches had been increased by marriage with Tanaquil, a woman of high birth, extensive family means and great ambition; and it was she who roused in her husband the aspiration to settle in a state where nobility was of such recent date that it could be ac-

quired by merit, especially since at Tarquinius, being an alien, he could obtain no advancement.

As they were coming over the Janiculum Hill to Rome, an eagle stooped in his flight, took the hat from the stranger's head, and, after hovering for some time over the chariot, replaced it, with loud screams, just as though sent by some deity to perform the office. Tanaquil joyfully assured her husband that this was an augury indicating that their fortune was now secure; for that such a bird from such a quarter in the heavens, the messenger of such a deity, could portend only greatness.

Having arrived in the city, the strangers secured a residence suitable to their ambitious scheme, and the husband soon became known as Lucius Tarquinius. Through his wealth he gained influence, and being soon admitted into the family life of the palace, he later was appointed guardian of the king's children. When Ancus Marcius died, Tarquinius, having sent the youths off with a hunting-party, called an assembly and presented himself for election as king, telling the Romans that he was establishing no precedent, since Titus Tatius was a foreigner and Numa was not of Roman blood. He said that under Ancus he had studied the customs and laws of the nation and worked for the best interests of the state. It proved that, although he thus gained his crown by paying court to the people, and usurped the place of his patron's children, he was otherwise a man of great merit; and he succeeded through the whole course of his reign in retaining popular favor.

CHAPTER IV

MURDER OF TARQUINIUS.—HIS INSTITUTIONS AND ACHIEVEMENTS.—ORIGIN OF FAMILIES.—FIRST APPEARANCE OF PLEBS.—THE COMITIA CENTURIATA OR DIVISION BY CENTURIES.—SERVIUS TULLIUS.—HIS REVISION OF GOVERNMENT AND REDISTRICTING OF CITY.

615 B.C.—533 B.C.

TARQUIN immediately began to advance the Luceres, the class from which he had sprung, and which had already become almost equal in dignity to the other two divisions. He added one hundred to the two hundred Senators and increased the Vestal Virgins to six, by adding two of the Luceres; though the pontiffs, augurs and flamens he could not control.

In early times the ruling class in Rome was the Patrons or Patres, but afterwards the Patres constituted the Senate, and the descendants of the old Patrons were called Patricians. The latter were divided into cliques, called by the Romans gentes, by us houses or clans, the members of each bearing the same name, which ended in "ius"; every member of the Julian family or gens was a Julius, each of the Cornelian gens a Cornelius, etc.; and in these gentes there were a number of families with the same patronymic. Thus the Scipios, the Sullas, and the Cinnas were all of the Cornelian gens. They also all had a prenomén, that is, a name prefixed to the name of the gens or nomen, and the family name

was the cognomen; thus Caius Julius Cæsar was of the Cæsar family in the Julian gens; Lucius Cornelius Scipio was of the Scipio family in the Cornelian gens. Their prenomena were Caius and Lucius, respectively, to distinguish them from the rest of the family of the same gens. They were not always of the same blood, as is seen in the case of the Scipios; but were connected by certain rights, "*Sacra Gentilicia*." A little later there was a restricting law promulgated forbidding the gentes to intermarry, excepting with each other, this being necessary in the crude state of early Roman society, where one class had been formed from criminals and runaway slaves.

To further strengthen his power, Tarquinius determined to advance a certain number of the Plebeian families to Patrician rank, as Tullus Hostilius had done with the Albans, thus doubling the Patrician tribes. All those added were to be of the Publian gens, and were to be named after himself and friends.

The Ramnenses and Titienses, however, opposed the plan fiercely, seeing that in this way the Luceres would be put on an equality with themselves; and an old Titien augur, Attus Navius, swore by the gods to stop the whole proceeding. Tarquin laughed at the augur and asked whether he could read men's thoughts and knew at that moment what he, Tarquinius, was thinking about, and whether it could be accomplished. The augur replied that it was possible to carry out his thought; and when Tarquin told him that it was to cut a whetstone in two with a razor, and commanded him to do it, Attus accomplished the feat. Then the king marveled at the power of the gods, and from this date the science of augury was greatly respected. Tarquinius no longer dared to create Patrician tribes

with new names; but he determined to circumvent the divine decrees by adding portions of the Plebeian gens to the three old tribes, making two divisions of each part, thus having an Old Ramnenses and the New, the Old Titienses and the New, the Old Luceres and the New (Ramnenses Primi et Secundi, etc.), and the chief Plebeians were entitled to vote in the Comitia Curiata as part of the body politic of Rome.

Tarquinius extended his own authority over many of the Etruscans, and, clinging to his fondness for Etruscan badges of royalty, he introduced as Roman ensigns their golden crown and sceptre, the ivory chair, and the robe striped with violet color. This Tarquinius, who is handed down as Tarquinius Priscus, entered into great works of improvement for the city. He built booths and shops along one side of the Forum and finished all the buildings near it begun by Numa and Tullus Hostilius, besides laying out the Circus Maximus, a great race-course for the celebration of the Roman Games, the ruins of which are seen to-day. He also commenced the Temple of Jupiter on the Saturnian Hill, afterwards completed by Tarquinius Superbus; but the most enduring of all his improvements is the Cloaca Maxima, which still performs utilitarian duty. This runs through the valley between the Circus Maximus and the Forum, and empties into the Tiber, its object having been to carry off the surplus water collected in the Forum. It is thought that only Etruscan builders could have initiated such vast engineering projects.

Though Romulus is said by some to have ridden in a chariot after he had won the "Spolia Opima," it was Tarquin who first formally instituted the "triumph," where, after a victory, the conqueror, wearing

a robe with stars of gold, entered the city in a chariot drawn by four white horses, amidst the acclamations of the people.

There was born in Tarquin's palace a boy named Servius Tullius, whose mother, from one of the noble houses of Corniculum, had been introduced as a slave. One day as the youth was lying asleep it was noticed that his head blazed with fire. Loud cries of astonishment alarmed the king and queen; but the queen forbade them to extinguish the flame; and after a short time, when the boy awoke, the fire disappeared. Tanaquil and her husband then determined to give the youth an education suitable to a prince of royal birth, and from that time it became apparent to all that this young man, who had been regarded as a slave, would be king after Tarquinius.

In view of this, the sons of Ancus Marcius, who, through affection for Tarquin, had not rebelled, now plotted to murder their old tutor and seize the throne; and finally two shepherds, at their instigation, gained access to the palace and struck down the king at one blow. This occurred in 577 B.C., after a reign of thirty-eight years.

Tanaquil, the shrewdest woman of her time, immediately sent out word that Tarquinius was only slightly stunned, and commanded the people to obey the orders of Servius Tullius until his recovery.

After a number of days, when the fact that Tarquin was dead could no longer be concealed, Servius, having gained over the Senate, took possession of the kingdom; and, although the first to rule in spite of the protestations of the people, he ranks as one of the ablest and wisest of all the kings, the greatest and most radical changes coming about during his reign.

He won much glory by completing many wise institutions which Tarquinius had commenced ; and when the young Tarquins accused him of occupying the throne without the consent of the people, he gained popular favor by liquidating their debts and by a general distribution of the territory acquired in his wars which, though few in number, were ably carried on.

In hopes of conciliating Tarquin's grandsons, Servius Tullius united his two daughters to the two heirs, giving Tullia, a cruel and ambitious girl, to Aruns, who was peaceable and good, and his eldest daughter, who was gentle, to the proud and violent Lucius Tarquinius.

In order to arrest the growth of influence which was building up the government on the Aventine, and about to obliterate the ancient prestige and strength of the Patricians on the Palatine, Servius Tullius conceived the idea of creating a thoroughly military institution then called the " *Exercitus*," which was really a census on a large scale. The people, both Plebeians and Patricians, were called out to meet in an assembly, at dawn of day, on the Campus Martius, where they were divided into five classes, which were to constitute the *Comitia Centuriata*. The first or richest class, those whose estates were worth a hundred thousand asses, and who numbered eighty thousand men, appeared in full armor with helmet, shield, greaves, and mail, all of brass, their weapons being the sword and spear. The armor of the other classes, enlisted also with reference to the valuation of their property, was graduated down to the fifth class, who wore no armor and carried only the sling and stone. The object of this census was to insure a correct basis for military taxation as well as to serve political ends.

These classes were divided into a number of centuries or companies, one half of which consisted of juniors from seventeen to forty-five years of age, the other half of seniors, those between forty-five and sixty, who were the guards of the city. When the census was finished it was found to contain one hundred and ninety-three centuries, exclusive of a third class, the *Proletarii*. The latter consisted of the *Locupletes*, or those who had no property and could only pay a poll-tax. Although much larger numerically, the *Proletarii* were only reckoned as one century, and in this way they sacrificed their privileges in the ballot. Therefore, although *Servius Tullius* made the indigent citizens, a part of the body politic, and to curry their favor paid their debts, he took away their independence and individuality, and for the time being gave absolute control to the rich. But this renowned *Comitia Centuriata*, of which the *Plebeians* became a part, and which in a way corresponded to our town-meeting, later constituted the highest Court of Appeal. It was held in check, however, by the necessity of consulting the ancient *Comitia Curiata*, which could veto its vote.

Besides these two distinguished bodies, there was a lower house, called the *Comitia Tributa*, where votes were taken according to tribes, the same as the votes of the others had been taken according to the centuries and *curiæ*; for, from the first, the citizens of Rome never voted in a mass, but in small bodies, just as is the case in some departments of our government, where the candidate chosen by the majority of these bodies decides the popular vote for the election of an aspirant to certain higher offices.

After the census was finished, they had what is now

called a review, then termed the "Closing of the Lustrum," by which it was found that eighty thousand citizens were rated. To accommodate so great a multitude, it was afterwards necessary to add two more hills to the city, the Viminal and Esquiline; and, in order to make the locality popular, Servius Tullius himself established his residence there.

The city was then divided into four districts, the Palatine, the Colline, the Suburra and the Esquiline, which included five of the Seven Hills, the Quirinal and Viminal being contained in the Colline, the Suburra answering to the Cælian. It was Tullius who built the Servian Wall, to surround all the Seven Hills, although the Aventine and Saturnian were not within the sacred limits of the Pomœrium, which had been extended to include the other five hills. He also built a rampart sixty feet high by one hundred wide, connecting the Quirinal, Viminal and Esquiline Hills. Rome had no other fortifications until the time of the Emperors, but the three most famous gates built afterwards were the Carmental, between the Capitol and the river, the Colline, at the northern extremity of the mound, and the Capuan to the south of the Cælian Hill. In order that his dominion might be strengthened by the wisdom of the gods, as well as by the force of arms, Tullius erected a Temple to Diana at Rome in imitation of the one at Ephesus.

There was among the Sabines a man who owned a calf of extraordinary size and beauty, and the soothsayers had told him that whichever state should sacrifice this heifer to Diana would hold the sovereignty. Accordingly the Sabine, hoping to gain independence for his nation, drove the sacred beast

to Rome for the sacrifice. But the priest before the altar had also heard of the prediction, and, conjecturing that this was the victim mentioned in the augury, chid the man for not purifying his hands, when the clear stream of the Tiber flowed so near, at the bottom of the valley. The Sabine, wishing to make sure of supremacy for his people, went down from the temple to the Tiber, and, in the meantime, the Roman priest sacrificed the heifer to Diana, thus insuring the dominion to Rome.

CHAPTER V

MURDER OF SERVIUS TULLIUS.—USURPATION AND REIGN OF LUCIUS TARQUINIUS SUPERBUS.—UNION WITH THE LATINS.—TAKING OF GABII.—LUCRETIA.—EXPULSION OF THE TARQUINS.

533 B.C.—509 B.C.

TULLIA slew her mild husband Aruns, and married the cruel Lucius after putting her gentle sister to death; and from this time the life of Servius Tullius was in danger; for, as her father advanced in years, Tullia spurred her husband on to put the old man out of the way. She reminded him that, as the heir of the great Tarquinius Priscus, his road to the throne was no such rough path as his father had trod; and she earnestly assured him that the gods of his father and his native country, that his father's image and the royal palace in which he resided, that the throne which awaited him and the very name of Tarquin, were passports to his success. Referring to Tanaquil, who had placed two kings successfully upon the throne, she asked him if she was to have no influence in gaining the power for herself and him.

Tarquinius, influenced by this woman's fury, proceeded to gain over the Patricians by splendid gifts and magnificent promises, and when he thought things were ready for the accomplishment of his purpose, accompanied by a band of armed men, he appeared suddenly in the Forum and took possession of the king's throne. He then reminded the assembled Senators

that Tullius, when only a slave, had gained the sovereignty by the scheme of a woman, and, by distributing money and lands to the meanest, had struck a blow at the interests of the State.

Servius, hearing the uproar, rushed into the Senate-house and demanded how Tarquinius dared to monopolize his throne while he was alive. Tarquinius then threw the aged king headlong down the stairs, and the latter, though much injured, started for his home on the Esquiline. On the way thither an assassin, sent for the purpose, overtook and slew him.

Meanwhile Tullia drove to the Forum in her chariot, and, entering the Senate-house, was the first to salute her husband as king. But even he saw the unfitness of a woman's presence in such a place, and ordered her away. On returning, at the head of Cyprian Street, at the foot of the Esquiline Hill, the driver pointed out to Tullia the battered body of her aged father, lying at the turn of the road, and refused to go on; but, unheeding, the wicked queen drove her chariot over her father's dead body, leaving the stains of his blood on her chariot-wheels and on her showy garments.

Tullius died in 533 B.C., after a reign of forty-four years. In spite of the indignation of the Patricians because he had catered to the popular element contrary to their interests, Servius Tullius was generally remembered with affection, since he was the last king whose government was limited by law. As it proved afterward, having seen the evils and danger of power lodged in the hands of a single person, Tullius was preparing to anticipate the Republic.

Lucius Tarquinius was from the beginning of his

arrogant reign called Superbus, or The Proud. He prohibited the burial of his father-in-law on the ground that Romulus had also remained uninterred; and he immediately put to death all the Senators suspected of having favored Tullius. Since he could place no reliance on the affections of his subjects, he surrounded himself with a bodyguard, and then proceeded to take the government into his own hands, ignoring the Curiata Assembly, and even omitting to fill the places of the Senators he had executed, so as to have less men in power.

Having strengthened his influence with the Latins by the marriage of his daughter to Mamilius of Tusculum, one of their most illustrious families, he persuaded that nation, since they had originated in Alba, to enter into treaties similar to those which the Albans had been induced to make with Servius Tullius, in exchange for the privileges of Roman citizenship.

He used up the booty gained from two hundred years of contest with the Volscians, to forward the improvements which the elder Tarquin and Servius had commenced in the city. While the work was proceeding, in removing the old shrines of the Sabine gods of Titus Tatius' time, the goddess Youth and the goddess Terminus refused to yield; and the Romans considered this a prognostication of the undecaying vigor of the nation, a sign that the boundaries of the Empire would never diminish.

Tarquinius brought architects from Apulia to plan the temple on the Saturnian Hill; and the Capitol is said to have taken its name from the fact that when excavating for the foundations they came upon a human head, fresh and bleeding, from which it was

augured—*caput* meaning a head—that the spot was to become the head of the world.

One day a strange old woman came before the king and tried to sell him a package of nine books. Having no interest in them, and being unable to decipher the words, he refused to buy them; whereupon, going away, she burned three and, bringing back the remaining six, offered to sell them at the same price that she had at first demanded for the nine. When the king laughed at her she left again, burning three more; and on returning she set the same price for the three that were left. Then Tarquin thought that there must be some mystery about it, and upon consulting the auguries he received instructions to buy the three at once, and was told that, since these were the books of the Sibyl, which contained all the secrets pertaining to Rome, he had made a great mistake in not taking the nine. The books were placed in a stone chest and hidden away down in an underground vault of the Capitol; and the Duum Viri, two men appointed to take charge of them, consulted them ever after when the State was in danger.

Since Gabii was the only Latin town that resisted the power of Tarquin, and could only be taken by fraud, the king's youngest son, Sextus, pretending that he had just escaped from the persecutions of his father, fled thither, and asked them to shelter him from the king's wrath. He told them that Tarquin intended to renew the war, and at the earliest opportunity to attack them again. The Gabians believed him and trusted him with one place of honor after another, until at last, after they had appointed him commander of their army, he urged their chiefs to a renewal of hostilities with Rome. Often, when,

accompanied by the flower of the Gabian nobility, Sextus made excursions for plunder, Tarquin allowed them to triumph, until Sextus finally became almost as absolute at Gabii as his father was at Rome.

Then Sextus sent word to Tarquinius that the situation at Gabii was at his disposal. When the messenger arrived, Tarquinius went out into the garden, seemingly employed in deep deliberation, and answered nothing to the envoy's inquiries; but, as he walked along by the side of the flower-beds, he kept striking off with his cane the heads of the tallest poppies. The messenger, angry and impatient, then left him and returned to Gabii without, as he thought, having accomplished anything. He told Sextus that the king, either through anger or dislike, or through pride, had refused to speak, but had kept knocking off the heads of the handsomest and largest poppies, one after the other. Sextus, understanding at once the import of this, immediately set about accusing and putting to death and banishing all the chief men; and when at last the city had no one to depend upon, he delivered it up to his father.

The two sons of Tarquin, Titus and Aruns, and his sister's son, Lucius Junius Brutus, were sent to Delphi to consult the oracles, because signs and wonders had appeared during the late excavations on the Saturnian Hill. Brutus was a young man, who, to avoid his uncle's jealousy, had feigned stupidity, and accordingly he was called The Dullard. After their mission was accomplished, the young men thought this a chance to inquire to which one of them the kingdom of Rome was to belong. The Tarquinii were much excited when the answer came: "To him shall belong the sovereign power of Rome who on his return shall

first kiss his mother." They all agreed to keep the secret from Sextus, whom they had left at Rome, lest he should forestall them; and they themselves cast lots to determine which of the two should be given the first opportunity to greet his mother; but Brutus, having gained the favor of the gods by giving them a hollow reed filled with gold, had gained prior information as to the real meaning of the oracle. Therefore when he landed on the shores of Italy he pretended to stumble accidentally, and, in falling, he touched with his lips the mother earth.

To replenish his treasury, exhausted by the magnificence of his public works, Tarquin decided to reduce the opulent Rutulian city of Ardea by siege. One night, weary of the toils of war, Sextus Tarquinius and Collatinus, together with other young men encamped around the town, were engaged in a convivial feast; and while the wine was passing freely, they began to talk of various interesting things and each extolled his own wife as the best. "Come, gentlemen," said Collatinus, "this matter can easily be proved; for in a few hours we may be in Rome, where our wives, not expecting us, will be following their accustomed occupations." All agreed, and galloping off to Rome, they found every one of the women feasting and revelling; but when they came to Collatia, at the house of Collatinus, his fair wife Lucretia was sitting in the midst of her hand-maids, carding wool and spinning. So it was apparent that the wife of Collatinus was the most sensible and the best.

At this time Sextus fell deeply in love with his cousin; and, a few days after, returned to Collatia, where Lucretia, suspecting nothing wrong, hospitably entertained her husband's relation and friend; but in

the still hours of the night he came to her, asleep in her apartment, and menaced her. Lacking the courage engendered by modern Christian standards, and fearing that obloquy would be cast upon her family if he carried out his threat to slander her, she did not dare to make an outcry in order to send him away. The next day when Sextus, exulting in his iniquity, returned to Ardea, Lucretia, plunged in grief at the dire recollection, sent a message to her husband at Ardea and another to her father, prefect at Rome, instructing them to come to her, each with a faithful friend. Spurius Lucretius, her father, came with Publius Valerius, Collatinus with Lucius Junius Brutus.

History makes no mention of more loyal hearts than those in the bosom of these old Romans. When Lucretia told them that she had brought dishonor on herself for fear of dishonoring her husband, but that her heart was guiltless, they, never doubting the unquestioned integrity of her character, consoled her, telling her that the soul alone was capable of sinning and that she herself still remained unsullied. "Far be it from me," said she, "that I should be an example to any Roman wife of wantonness. Though I acquit myself of the guilt, dishonored, I must pay the penalty." Then she made these strong but gentle Romans swear that they would avenge her, all pledging their word of honor, while one after the other tried to comfort her distracted heart. Again she said: "No woman shall ever plead the example of Lucretia for surviving her honor;" and at the same moment she plunged a dagger concealed in her bosom deep into her heart.

While they were all bowed in their terrible grief,

Brutus drew the knife from the wound of Lucretia, and holding it up said: "By this blood, most chaste until dishonored by royal insolence, I swear and call on ye, O ye gods! to witness that I will pursue to destruction, by sword, fire, and every means in my power, both Lucius Tarquinius the Proud and his impious wife, together with their entire race; and I will never suffer one of them, nor any other person whatever, to be King in Rome."

He then delivered the dagger to Collatinus and afterwards to Lucretius and Valerius. These were filled with amazement at the high soul of one whom they had long considered a dullard, but they took the oath as directed, and their grief became a rage.

Great consternation spread over the city when Brutus, with the most spirited of the youths at Collatia, marched to Rome and was joined by many of the most distinguished men of the State, all armed against their enemies; and, when told the story, the people were filled with the same horror as at Collatia.

A crier summoned all the citizens to the Forum, where Brutus, as tribune of the Celeres, again recounted the shocking story, and at the same time recalled to the minds of the people the arrogance of the king, the misery of the commons, and mentioned that the great warriors of Rome were compelled to cut stones and to work in sewers, like common laborers, and this without pay. Reminding them of the murder of Servius Tullius, and of the unfilial and cruel conduct of his daughter, he so enkindled the fury of the multitude, that, with one voice, they agreed to banish the execrated king with his wife and children.

Brutus immediately set out for the camp at Ardea

by a short route, in order to avoid Tarquinius, from whom the news of the disaster had been carefully concealed. The king, when he arrived, found the gates of Rome shut against him, and the order of banishment placed high up on the wall outside, while he learned that his wicked wife Tullia had already fled, carrying with her the curses and imprecations of the people.

The king's sons were driven out from the camp at Ardea in great distress, Sextus retiring to Gabii, where he was slain by some of those he had deceived.

A festival, called the "Regifugium" (flight of the king), was now instituted to commemorate the universal rejoicing. The government of the kings from the building of the city had been two hundred and forty-four years, from 753 B.C. to 509 B.C., Lucius Tarquinius Superbus having reigned nearly twenty-five years.

On the assembling of the centuries, in conformity with a plan for a Republic found among the papers of Servius Tullius, two magistrates were chosen, then called prætors or judges, afterwards designated as consuls. These were Lucius Junius Brutus and Lucius Tarquinius Collatinus.

CHAPTER VI

THE REPUBLIC.—CONSULSHIP OF BRUTUS AND COLLATINUS.—VALERIUS PUBLICOLA.—HORATIUS DEFENDS THE BRIDGE.—LARS PORSENNA.—LAKE REGILLUS.

509 B.C.—499 B.C.

MAGISTRATES were to be chosen annually to execute the laws and make them superior to the enactments of any one man; but Brutus, understanding that it would require time to mold the discordant elements and fit the State for republican institutions, was careful not to disturb at first the workings of the government as devised by the early kings.

The commencement of liberty dated from this period, not because proper restraints were removed, but because the rulers were changed each year. The consuls were elected and received their authority from the combined Assemblies of the centuries and curiæ; but each consul was allowed to assume imperial power, only in turn, sitting in the curule chair when in office, and wearing a violet-bordered robe. Both were attended by twelve lictors, respectively, as Romulus had been, and each of these lictors carried a bundle of rods or fasces, but only out of the fasces of the acting consul rose the ax, in token of the power of life and death, which he possessed as successor to the king.

The new consuls proceeded to fill up the quota of the Senate to three hundred, as before Tarquin's time, their choice being made from the equestrian ranks. The new Senators were called *Conscriptii*, and with

the old ones, who were still called *Patres*, they became *Patres et Conscriptii*; until the "et" was finally omitted, and they were addressed as *Patres Conscriptii*, as in Cicero's speeches before the Senate. An officer was chosen, a kind of primitive Pope, with the title of *Rex Sacrorum*, to perform certain religious rites, which hitherto had been the prerogative of the king.

It soon began to be noised abroad that the people were not satisfied that one of the Tarquins held the divided power. They said that since *Priscus* first, and afterwards *Superbus*, had kept always in sight the idea that the crown belonged to the Tarquin family, they felt that the very name of *Tarquinius Collatinus*, who now held the consulship, was dangerous to liberty.

Accordingly, *Brutus* called the Commons together, remarking that he broached the subject with a feeling of extreme delicacy, since the person under consideration was his most intimate and beloved friend; but that his affection for the Commonwealth outweighed every consideration. Then he said: "*Lucius Tarquinius*! you alone are able to remove our apprehension; you, who expelled the princes, now complete your kindness by taking hence the name. Take also your property, and if need be the State will grant you an annuity; for it is believed that only with the departure of the race of Tarquin will kingly power be removed." *Collatinus* at first paid little heed to what he considered their groundless fears; but when his father-in-law, *Spurius Lucretius*, urged him, he withdrew, removing all his possessions to *Lavinia*, outside of the territory of the State. Then *Brutus*, in accordance with the decree of the Senate, banished all other

members of the Tarquin family, and Publius Valerius, the fourth man who had sworn at the bedside of Lucretia, was elected as his colleague.

The not unforeseen war with Tarquinius Superbus came about at last in an unexpected manner. There had been in the State a class of princely young men, accustomed to associate with the Tarquin family. These could not bear the restraint of the new government, and said that a king was more to their mind; for he could listen to their requests, and with him there was room for favor, and though he might become angry, he could forgive; whereas the law was inexorable, and if its bounds were transgressed it recognized no indulgence.

Ambassadors full of dangerous schemes came from Tarquinius, who was supported by the Etruscans; and, gaining the ear of these young nobles, concerted measures to privately admit the Tarquin family into the city by night. Brutus, the consul, had married a sister of the Vitellei, who were among the conspirators; and his two sons, Titus and Tiberius, now grown up, were influenced by their uncles to take part with others in the scheme. A slave, by accident having discovered the plot, revealed it to Brutus, who intercepted letters proving the guilt of all.

But when Brutus seized the conspirators, he for the first time discovered that his two sons were foremost in the plot. Then it became apparent how much Brutus loved his country; for, ignoring all paternal feeling, he at length told the lictors to administer justice to all, beginning by putting his own sons to death.

The slave who had disclosed the stratagem was given his liberty, and from his name, Vindicius, the

act of enfranchizement has ever since been called "Vindicta."

The ambassadors, according to the law of nations, were allowed to go free, but, in order that all hope of a return to the city should be given up, the property of Tarquin was confiscated. On that part of the lands which lay between the city and the Tiber, since called the Field of Mars, there was then growing a bountiful harvest of corn ripe for the sickle. But, since it was considered an impiety to appropriate it, many men were employed to remove it; and these, having thrown it into a shallow part of the Tiber, it lodged at the lowest point, where after a time other debris collected, and an island of considerable size was formed, on which was erected a temple dedicated to Esculapius.

This was replaced in the year 1000 by the Church of San Bartholomeo, the crypt of which is part of the present edifice.

Tarquinius now decided upon open war. Brutus and Valerius commanded the cavalry against him in the first battle; and when the king's son Aruns spurred his horses against Brutus, so fierce was the encounter that each, pierced by the other's javelin, fell dead at the same moment.

Thus died the first Brutus. But the armies fought on, neither winning—until at night-fall a message came from the gods awarding victory to Rome, announcing that one more of the Tuscans had been slain than of the Romans. Then the enemy fled, and when the morning dawned there was not one of the foe to be seen; but on counting the slain it was found that the Tuscan dead outnumbered those of the enemy by one.

They buried the body of Brutus with great pomp, since his work was considered as far-reaching as the founding of Rome by Romulus; and the Roman matrons mourned for him a year, because he had avenged the cruel death of Lucretia.

Brutus' colleague, Publius Valerius, who was honored with a great triumph, was descended from that Valerius who had helped to unite the ancient Romans and Sabines. He was a man distinguished for eloquence and riches.

Valerius built for himself a palace overlooking the Forum, near the spot where the Arch of Titus now stands. Here he lived for a time in great state, until it was rumored that the people were greatly disturbed for fear that he was going to make himself king. Then one morning all were astonished to find that his stately mansion had vanished, having been pulled down stone by stone while Rome slept. Telling the citizens that he valued the good of the Republic more than his own personal ends, he now built a less pretentious dwelling below the hill, and afterwards appeared before the Assembly with the fasces lowered and without axes. He then had laws passed which allowed the people the right of appeal over the will of the consul, and from this time on the consul had no control over life and death, except when carrying on war outside the city.

Thenceforth Publius Valerius was called Publicola, the friend of the people. After Brutus' death he ruled alone until Spurius Lucretius, the now aged father of Lucretia, was chosen for a little time just before his death. The latter was succeeded by Marcus Horatius.

The next year, when Valerius was consul with

Titus Lucretius, Tarquin gained the aid of Lars Porsenna of Clusium, the chivalric chief of the twelve Etruscan cities; and the army reached the Sublician Bridge at Rome before there was time to destroy it, so that it was feared that Porsenna would cross over and despoil the city.

Then three noble Romans—Horatius Cocles, a Lucerian; Spurius Lartius, a Ramnian, and Herminius, a Titian—posted themselves at the farther end of the bridge, and defended it against all the Etruscan host while the Romans were cutting the bridge off from behind.

“Then out spake brave Horatius,
The Captain of the Gate;
‘To every man upon this earth
Death cometh soon or late;
And how can man die better
Than facing fearful odds
For the ashes of his fathers
And the temples of his gods.’

The three stood calm and silent,
And looked upon the foes,
And a great shout of laughter
From all the vanguard rose.

But all Etruria’s noblest
Felt their hearts sink to see
On the earth the bloody corpses,
In the path the dauntless three.
But meanwhile ax and lever
Have manfully been plied;
And now the bridge hangs tottering
Above the boiling tide.
‘Come back! come back! Horatius!’
Loud cried the Fathers all.
‘Back, Lartius! back, Herminius!
Back, ere the ruins fall!’

Back darted Spurius Lartius;
Herminius darted back:
And as they passed, beneath their feet,
They felt the timbers crack.

Alone stood brave Horatius,
But constant still in mind;
Thrice thirty thousand foes before,
And the broad flood behind."

He stood his ground until the last beam of the
bridge fell; then he made a prayer to the river:

"'Oh, Tiber! father Tiber!
To whom the Romans pray,
A Roman's life, a Roman's arms,
Take thou in charge this day!'
So he spake, and speaking, sheathed
The good sword by his side,
And with his harness on his back,
Plunged headlong in the tide.
No sound of joy or sorrow
Was heard from either bank;
But friends and foes in dumb surprise,
With parted lips and straining eyes,
Stood gazing where he sank;
And when above the surges
They saw his crest appear,
All Rome sent forth a rapturous cry
And even the ranks of Tuscany
Could scarce forbear to cheer."

A statue was erected to Horatius Cocles in the
Forum and as much land given him as he could
plow around in a day.

"It stands in the Comitium,
Plain for all folk to see;
Horatius in his harness, halting upon one knee.
And still his name sounds stirring

Unto the men of Rome,
As the trumpet-blast that cries to them
To charge the Volscian home;
And wives still pray to Juno
For boys with hearts as bold
As his who kept the bridge so well
In the brave days of old.

When the oldest cask is opened,
And the largest lamp is lit,
When the chestnuts glow in the embers,
And the kid turns on the spit;
When young and old in circle
Around the fire-brands close;
When the girls are weaving baskets,
And the lads are shaping bows;
When the goodman mends his armor,
And trims his helmet's plume;
When the goodwife's shuttle merrily
Goes flashing through the loom;
With weeping and with laughter
Still is the story told
How well Horatius kept the bridge
In the brave days of old."

When Porsenna, thus thwarted, decided to blockade the city and to encamp on the Janiculum, Caius Mucius, with other noble youths, determined to rescue their country; accordingly, seizing a dagger, the former went to the chief judgment seat, and, mistaking the secretary for Porsenna, slew him. When dragged before the tribunal, Mucius replied to Porsenna's threats by thrusting his hand into a flame prepared for a sacrifice, saying: "Behold how little account is made of the body by those who wish to attain glory." While he held his hand there to burn, the king, leaping from his seat, ordered that he be led from the altar, saying: "Would that your bravery

were exercised in behalf of my country, for death which you intended for me was mild compared to the torture to which you subject yourself. I dismiss you unharmed; retire in safety." Then Mucius revealed to him voluntarily that which Porsenna had tried to extort by menaces: namely, that three hundred of the principal youths of Rome had bound themselves by an oath to attempt to slay him, each in his turn, until someone should succeed.

Porsenna was so impressed with the courage of the Romans and the perils threatening him, that he offered them terms of peace, the Romans consenting to give back all the land which they had won from the Etruscans beyond the Tiber; and as hostages they sent ten youths and ten maidens to Porsenna. One young girl, named Clœlia, persuaded all her associates to swim back across the Tiber; but the Romans, not willing to break faith with the king, obliged them to return. Porsenna so admired Clœlia's courage that he allowed her to go home and to take with her whomsoever of the others she pleased. Selecting from the hostages all that were still children she restored them to their homes. The people then set up an equestrian statue to her at the head of the Via Sacra; and to Mucius, who was ever after called Scævola or the left-handed, because his right hand was burnt off, they made a present of lands.

Porsenna now having seen the valor of the Romans, deserted Tarquin and returned home. Thus abandoned in his third attempt, Tarquin went to live in Tusculum with his son-in-law, Octavius Mamilius; and soon after this thirty Latin cities, with the latter as their chief, combined to restore Tarquin to his kingdom.

After the good Publius Valerius died, the people could find no one able enough to take his place; and the fact that neither of the consuls held the power of life and death within the city was found to work mischief in times of war; so that the Senate made a decree that in cases of great danger a dictator for six months should be appointed by the acting consul. His will was to be absolute both in and out of the city; and the axes, having been restored to the fasces, were carried in front. In 501 B.C., eight years after the expulsion of Tarquin, Titus Lartius was appointed to fill this office.

Two years later, during the dictatorship of Aulus Posthumius, the Roman army met the Latins at Lake Regillus in Tusculum. Before the battle each Latin wife was given an opportunity to go back to her father's house and each Roman woman, who had married a Latin, was permitted with her children to return to Rome. All the Latin wives excepting two remained with their husbands, while all the Roman women in the Latin cities went back to Rome with their daughters.

Tarquin himself, though now very aged, was wounded while leading the troops, and his son-in-law Mamilius was also disabled. The charge was so furious that the Romans gave way; and when Marcus Valerius, the brother of Publius, trying to rally them, was struck dead, they began to flee. Posthumius seeing that no human help could avail, vowed a temple to Castor and Pollux, the great twin heroes of the Greeks.

Then there appeared two horsemen "taller and fairer than any of the sons of men"; and they rode two horses white as snow. These led the dictator into



TEMPLE OF CASTOR AND POLLUX.

the thickest of the fight, so that the Romans prevailed. Titus Herminius, the friend of Horatius Cocles, pierced Mamilius with his spear, but was himself slain, while taking armor from the foe. The Romans, with the horsemen ahead, now pursued the fleeing Latins and took their camp.

Posthumius had made rich promises to the ones who were able to take the Latin camp; but after the battle there was no sign of the two mysterious horsemen, except that on the rock of granite there was the imprint of a horse's hoof. At this very hour two youths on white horses rode into the Forum at Rome sweating in blood and almost concealed in dust, while their steeds were covered with foam. They left their horses near the little Temple of Vesta, and bathed themselves in a spring nearby, at the same time entertaining the frequenters of the Forum with the startling tale of how the Romans had won the Battle of Lake Regillus. Then they put spurs to their horses and vanished; but Posthumius understood that they were Castor and Pollux; and accordingly, to fulfill his vow, he built them a temple, the ruins of which are seen to-day on the spot in the Forum where they alighted, and ever after they were worshiped as patron gods.

"Wherefore they washed their horses
In Vesta's holy well,
Wherefore they rode to Vesta's door,
I know, but may not tell.
Here, hard by Vesta's temple,
Build we a stately dome
Unto the Great Twin Brethren
Who fought so well for Rome.
And when the months returning
Bring back this day of flight,

The proud Ides of Quintilis,
Marked evermore with white,
Unto the Great Twin Brethren
Let all the people throng,
With chaplets and with offerings,
With music and with song; . . .
And pass in solemn order
Before the sacred dome,
Where dwell the Great Twin Brethren,
Who fought so well for Rome."

CHAPTER VII

STRUGGLES OF THE PLEBEIANS.—THE FABLE OF MENE-
NIUS AGRIPPA.—THE AGRARIAN AND PUBLILIAN
LAWS.—CORIOLANUS.

499 B.C.—461 B.C.

AFTER this last endeavor to reinstate the Tarquins, the Latin cities were glad to close hostilities by a truce of neutrality with Rome; and Tarquin, now bereft of all his relations, retired to Cumæ with a scanty following, and four years later, in 495 B.C., fourteen years after his expulsion, he died.

At the time of Porsenna Etruria acknowledged no allegiance. It is even generally conceded that, in spite of the popular legends, Porsenna actually took and for a short time held Rome, since there is an account given of his receiving back the Etruscan throne, scepter, crown and robes of state which Tarquinius had adopted, and of his forbidding the Romans to make weapons out of iron. The Sabines also had revolted from Roman supremacy and supported the Latins in their secession. However these things may be, the Romans did banish the Tarquins and exchanged the monarchy for an aristocracy.

The supremacy of Rome over the rest of Italy dates from the first century and a half of the Republic; and during that time she was busy reconquering the territory she had lost. At this same period the struggle commenced which raised the Plebeians to the level of the Patricians.

As already stated an oligarchy had been established which permitted no intermarriage or "Right of Conubium," between the Patricians and the lower classes. The Plebeians, when they could not pay their debts, were forced to become bondmen or clients; and in some cases the creditor could even seize the debtor, load him with chains, put him to death or sell him as a slave.

Finally the Plebeians rose against the despotism of the Patricians and refused to do their share in defending Rome against the Volscians unless the law concerning debt was changed; and Valerius, a descendant of the famous Publicola, having been chosen dictator, was obliged to promise them relief from their creditors. But when the war was over, Appius Claudius, the first of that name, who was one of the consuls, refused to make the promised concessions. The Plebeians, enraged at this breach of faith, retired in 494 B.C. to a hill three miles from Rome, declaring that they would form a new city, leaving Rome to the Patricians and clients

Appius Claudius urged his associates to let them go, but Valerius and Titus Lartius, together with Menenius Agrippa, a noble popular with the Plebeians, were commissioned to settle matters. Menenius Agrippa expounded to the rebels the famous fable in which the members of the body rebelled against the stomach, saying that they would not support it any longer, since it did nothing for them; and he related how they soon found out that when the stomach was no longer supported they themselves were undone, since they had no strength with which to work.

The moral of the fable so appealed to everyone that an arrangement was made with the Plebeians to

cancel their debts and to free such as had been enslaved on account of non-payment. A new office was created, "*Sacra Sancta Potestas*," which was filled by two Plebeians called Tribunes of the Plebs. These were appointed to stand between the people and the Patrician magistrates, and were always to keep open house for all that might need aid. In after years their number was increased to five, and later to ten. They were granted the enormous privilege of the veto, which was called the "*Right of Intercession*." Two *ædiles* were also vouchsafed the Plebeians, whose duties were at first religious, but afterwards became civic.

On the *Mons Sacra*, where the edict for these laws, called *Leges Sacratæ*, was secured, an altar was built dedicated to Jupiter, Originator and Banisher of Fear, because the Plebeians had gone forth in peril, but had come back in security. This hill, situated two miles and a half outside the *Porta Pia* at Rome, is an object of interest to the traveler of the present day.

Spurius Cassius, who had served as consul in the ranks of the Patricians, rang his own death-knell in 486 B.C. by the introduction of the First Agrarian Law, which gave the Plebeians a share in the conquered territory. Although this greatly incensed the Patrician burgesses, who hitherto occupied these lands, to conciliate the Plebeians they allowed the measure to pass temporarily; but after Spurius Cassius' term of office expired he was tried before the Assembly of the *curiæ* for seeking to gain despotic power by the aid of alien nations, found guilty of treason, and executed in 485 B.C.; for the name of king could not be lisped in the ear of a Roman.

After fourteen years of contention over the non-execution of the Agrarian Law, the Senate in 471

B.C. was obliged to pass the Publilian Law of Volero, providing that the Tribunes of the Plebs should be elected by the Plebeians at the Assembly of the Tribes in the Forum, instead of at the Assembly of the centuries. The five Tribunes, who were soon elected, grew so arrogant that their power over the veto became injurious to the interests of the State, as will appear in subsequent proceedings.

There was in Rome at this time a youth descended from Ancus Marcius, whose name was Caius Marcius. He was called Coriolanus from his bravery in restoring the Latin city of Corioli, which had fallen into the hands of the enemy in the Volscian wars. His mother, Volumnia, a typical Roman matron, was noble and generous, but proud and implacable towards her enemies and intolerant towards the weakness of her friends. Caius, as he grew up, developed the defects as well as some of the virtues of his mother's character; and he soon became a great enemy to the Plebeians.

Discussion arose about this time with respect to the distribution of corn which the King of Syracuse had sent to the Romans in time of famine, the more liberal thinking that it ought to be donated to the poor, while the most conservative were of the opinion that it should be sold at nominal rates. Coriolanus, who was displeased at the late concessions made to the Plebeians, said: "Why do the Plebeians ask favors of the Patricians? When they have given up their Tribunes then the question of giving them corn may be considered."

The Plebeians became so excited at Coriolanus' attitude that they would have slain him in a riot had not their Tribunes summoned him before the Comitia to

account for his ill-advised speech. Angry at not receiving the support he expected from the Patricians, and too proud to stand a trial, he left Rome, vowing that they should repent "of having driven Caius Marcius Coriolanus into exile." He then made his way to Antium, the capital of the Volscians, and betaking himself to the house of the chief, Attius Tullus, he seated himself by the household gods, a sacred place in Italy, and thus addressed his former enemy: "I am Caius Marcius, surnamed Coriolanus, this cognomen being my only reward for my great services to the Romans; for they have now exiled me from my country. I will serve you well if you will accept my aid; but if you prefer, strike me down!" Attius Tullus received the "banished lord" hospitably, and at once prepared to break the treaty with Rome by fraud.

Coriolanus managed things so successfully that the Volscians promoted him over their generals; and when he was seen to advance rapidly, the people were paralyzed; but since the Plebeians, who made up the bulk of the Roman army, were in a state of disaffection, the consuls could not raise enough men to resist the enemy. When one Latin town after another had yielded, and at last the Volscian army was encamped within five miles of Rome, consternation seized the populace, so that even the Plebeians were filled with terror and urged the Senate to "make peace with this terrible Coriolanus." Five of the chief Patricians were then sent forth to intercede; but Coriolanus claimed that he could make no terms until his countrymen had restored to the Volscians all the places which had previously been taken, and had received them on an equality with the Latins.

When the Senate, disdaining such humiliating terms, sent the envoys back to ask for modifications, Coriolanus would not even admit them a second time to his camp. Then the Romans sent forth a more solemn cortège of pontiffs, flamens and augurs; but these also were respectfully sent away.

At last it seemed that the Volscian cities were about to absorb Rome; and the Roman matrons met and prayed in the temple. Valeria, the sister of the great Valerius Publicola, conceiving the idea that a procession of women might soften the heart of the offended Roman, prevailed on Volumnia, the stern mother of Coriolanus, to lead, while Virgilia, his wife, with her two little boys, also joined the retinue.

Coriolanus, seeing the strange crusade from his lofty place in the Volscian Council of State, made up his mind to coldly resist them. But when he saw his beloved mother at the head of the line, forgetting his resolution, he started impetuously forward to kiss her. She, however, turned from him with the proud air of an injured Roman matron saying: "Art thou Caius Marcius, and am I thy mother? or art thou the general of the Volscians, and am I a prisoner in thy camp? Before thou kissest me, answer me that." As Caius stood speechless, his mother continued: "Shall the aspersion be cast upon me that if I had never been a mother my country would still be free? This misery cannot oppress me, an aged woman, long; for over my dead body thou shalt enter Rome; but when thou enslavest thy country, thou enslavest thy wife and thy little ones also."

Although Coriolanus had been able to resist all Rome's ambassadors, she whom he had revered and obeyed from his childhood conquered him; and

gazing sorrowfully at his mother he said: "Oh! my mother! thou hast saved Rome, but thou hast sacrificed thy son!" He then turned back his army, and the women, returning to the city, were hailed as the deliverers of the State. Valeria was made priestess of the temple built on the spot, which was dedicated to "Woman's Fortune."

Coriolanus immediately lost his popularity with the Volscians; and his words to his mother were fulfilled when he was finally slain in 461 B.C. in a Volscian riot.

CHAPTER VIII

CINCINNATUS.—APPIUS CLAUDIUS.—THE DECEMVIRS.—
STORY OF VIRGINIA.—FALL OF THE DECEMVIRS.

461 B.C.—449 B.C.

BEYOND the Tiber in the Vatican district there lived on his own little farm a Patrician, Quinctius, who was called Cincinnatus, because of his long curling hair, *cincinni*. In 460 B.C. the news was brought to him that he had been chosen consul to succeed Valerius, who had been slain while retaking the Capitol. Cincinnatus showed no surprise at the honor conferred upon him, but simply remarked to his wife as he followed the envoys: "I fear, Racilia, that our little farm must remain untilled this year."

After his term of office had expired he declined a new election and returned to the peace and contentment of his rural pursuits. Two years later, in 458 B.C., one of the consuls, engaged in war with the Æquians, which had become an anniversary custom with the Romans, was surrounded in a defile of Mount Algidus without any way of escape. Five horsemen, however, succeeded in reaching Rome and reported the catastrophe to the Senate, who appointed for dictator, Lucius Quinctius Cincinnatus, as the only man considered capable of delivering the army.

When the deputies came to invest him with the badge of his authority as dictator, they found Cincinnatus, clothed in a tunic, plowing his field. As they approached, he wiped the perspiration from his

forehead, and told his wife to bring his toga. Then he asked the envoy if all was well at Rome. The deputies replied that he had been sent for as the savior of the State; and, crossing the Tiber with him in a little boat, they were met by the Senate, who escorted Cincinnatus to the city with great ceremony. He immediately ordered all business suspended, and, collecting volunteers, commanded them to meet on the Field of Mars before sunset, each with twelve stakes and provisions for five days. When all was ready, Cincinnatus led them forth.

Having discovered the position of the Æquians, the men were ordered to stack their baggage, surround the enemy's camp, and go to work. All raised a shout and began digging a trench, fixing the stakes so as to form a palisade. The consul's army, which was surrounded by the foe, hearing the shout of their rescuers, took up their arms, encouraged, and kept the Æquians so engaged during the night that they paid no heed to Cincinnatus' volunteers; but in the morning they found themselves hemmed in on all sides by the trench and palisades, so that they were now between two Roman armies, and were forced to surrender.

A golden crown was placed upon Cincinnatus' head, and the Senate had him enter the city in triumph; since "on one evening he had marched forth to deliver the consul, and the next he returned to Rome victorious." Cincinnatus then laid down his office as dictator and returned to his wife, Racilia, and to his rural occupations.

Either because Kæso Fabius did not gain the support he desired in behalf of the Plebeians, with respect to the execution of the Agrarian Law, or because they

thought that they could defend Rome better on her boundaries, the whole Fabian gens left the city, three hundred and six in number, with four thousand followers. Marching with measured tread, they passed out through the road below the Capitol, and under the Carmental Gate. Crossing the Tiber, they fortified a camp on a little stream, Cremera, in the district of the Veii, where they could easily make depredations on the territory of the latter.

Thus for many years they served Rome; but there came a day, in 477 B.C., when Kæso Fabius led them forth for the last time; for the Veii laid an ambush for them and they were all slain. Of the whole family there was only one left at Rome, and from this young Fabius sprung all the famous Fabii.

The execution of the Agrarian Law had only advanced slowly, when in 456 Lucius Icilius proposed that the Aventine Hill, the part called the Public Lands, should be given up to the Plebs, just as the other hills were devoted solely to the Patricians; and, the Senate consenting, this concession was confirmed by most imposing religious ceremonies. The Icilian Law was engraved upon a tablet of brass and set up on the Aventine, ever after called the Sacred Hill. The land was divided off into building-lots; but there not being enough for every Plebeian by himself, houses were built in flats in order to accommodate several families jointly, and this is said to have been the origin of the system of apartment houses which prevails in all cities in every land at the present day.

The idea having become current that the inadaptability of Roman law to the needs of the people was the cause of much of the civic discontent, a Triumvirate was appointed, in 454 B.C., to travel in Greece,

for the purpose of studying their system of government, and of bringing back a copy of the laws of Solon, to be used as a new formula.

When the three men returned the Patricians agreed to supersede the ordinary consular administration by a Decemvirate. In 451, at the commencement of their rule, the government of the Decemvirs, all of whom were Patrician, was noted for its great equity; and Appius Claudius, their chief, became so popular that he was soon the most powerful man in the State. Before the end of the year the famous Ten Tables they instituted were exhibited in the Forum for popular criticism; and the laws were so just that they were not only approved by the people and confirmed by the Comitia of the centuries, but they became the groundwork for Roman law for all time.

At the close of their year's term of office, Appius Claudius was himself appointed to preside at the new election, since it was not thought possible that a chief magistrate in office would re-elect himself. But Appius, ignoring the custom, announced himself elected with nine others, all men of no reputation; and he now showed himself in his true colors, more obnoxious and despotic in character than either his father or grandfather.

This new Council of Ten merited all the ignominy which has clung to them through all the ages; for Appius had by bribery so arranged the election that all the other nine, even the three Plebeian Decemvirs, endorsed his evil deeds; and each of these had twelve lictors, who, as in the early days, carried fasces with the axes, signifying absolute power.

These added two new most tyrannic tables to the Code, so that the leading Patricians as well as Plebeians

left the city, and only some new provocation was required to call forth a riot.

When the third year came round, Appius and his colleagues continued to hold office without being re-elected. Outside disturbances were encouraged because they diverted the Plebeians from their own wrongs; but in the two armies levied to oppose the invading forces, each commanded by three Decemvirs, no patriotic enthusiasm was exhibited.

In one of the divisions of the army there was a distinguished officer by the name of Virginius. He had a daughter, Virginia, fresh as the dawn, who was the betrothed of the tribune, Lucius Icilius, the promoter of the Icilian Law.

Appius Claudius saw this maiden, just growing up into charming womanhood, as she returned singing from school one day, and he determined to make her his own.

“ And Appius heard her sweet young voice, and saw her sweet
young face,
And loved her with the accurséd love of his accurséd race.”

After seeking in vain to win her by bribes and promises, he commanded one of his clients, Marcus Claudius, to seize her, and to claim her as one of his slaves, who had been stolen by Virginius. Marcus acted accordingly, and in spite of her maid's outcry, took her before the Decemvirs, as he said, to have his claim substantiated.

Her friends never doubted but that the truth would come to light; but Appius declared that the maiden must be delivered up to the man that claimed her unless her father could prove that she was his daughter. Numitorius, Virginia's uncle, and her lover

Icilius, proved by the Twelve Tables, that this was contrary to the law wherein a person should continue free until proved a slave; and thus Appius was compelled to leave the girl in the hands of her uncle, on condition that he should give bail for her appearance the next morning, and that, if her father, Virginius, were not then present, he should give her up.

Icilius was obliged to yield, and messengers were sent in hot haste to inform Virginius, then with the troops at Algidus. Appius, on the other hand, immediately sent word to the higher officers of the army not to grant a leave of absence to Virginius; but fortunately this letter was not delivered until Virginius had already arrived in Rome, having set out at sunset, as soon as he received the pressing summons.

The next morning Virginius came to the Forum with his daughter and many friends and matrons, both clad in mourning garments as was the Roman custom when for any cause a person was bowed down by grief. Virginius busied himself by going about among the people enlisting their sympathy by his plaints.

“Now by your children’s cradles, now by your father’s graves,

Be men to-day, Quirites, or be forever slaves.

For this did Servius give us laws? For this did Lucrece bleed?

For this was the great vengeance wrought on Tarquin’s evil seed?

For this did those false sons make red the axes of their sire?

For this did Scævola’s right hand hiss in the Tuscan fire?

Shall the vile fox-earth awe the race that stormed the lion’s den?

Shall we who could not brook one lord, crouch to the wicked ten?”

Accordingly when Appius appeared he found but few in the Forum not friendly to Virginius; nothing

daunted, however, at seeing the latter ready to establish the fact of the girl's identity as his child, he decided at once, contrary to his own law, that Virginia should be given up to Marcus Claudius until it should be proved that she was free.

When the villain appeared to carry off the maiden, Virginius, giving up all hope of her deliverance, and feigning to implore the girl's nurse to declare whether Virginia was his daughter or not, took her to the farther side of the Forum near the butcher's stalls, and seizing a knife, stabbed the maiden to the heart, saying: "By this means only canst thou remain free."

"And then his eyes grew very dim, and his throat began to swell,
And in a hoarse, changed voice he spake, 'Farewell, sweet child, farewell.

The house which was the happiest within the Roman walls;
The house that envied not the wealth of Capua's marble halls,
Now for the brightness of thy smiles must have eternal gloom,
And for the music of thy voice, the silence of the tomb.

The time has come. See how he points his eager hand this way,
See how his eyes gloat on thy grief, like a kite's upon the prey.

With all his wit he little deems that spurned, betrayed, bereft,
Thy father has in his despair one fearful refuge left.
He little deems that in this hand I clutch what still can save

Thy gentle youth from taunts and blows, the portion of the slave.

Yea, and from nameless evil, that passeth taunt and blow—
Foul outrage which thou knowest not, which thou shalt never know.

With that he lifted high the steel and smote her in the side
And in her blood she sank to earth, and with one sob she died."

Then he turned to the tribunal, and, addressing Appius, said: "On thy head rests this blood."

Appius called upon the lictors to cut off the escape of Virginius; but the crowd in sympathy opened a way for him; and he went straight out through the gate, holding up the knife reddened with gore. He then proceeded directly to the army. The soldiers, having been told the sad tale, marched in a body to Rome, while the other division on the Sabine frontier, having also heard the story from Icilius and Numitorius, followed to the Capitol.

Passing through the city, the armies respectively rested on the Aventine Hill and on Mons Sacra, and seemed to ominously overshadow the city. At this juncture the Plebeians sent envoys to demand of the Senate that the Decemvirs should be made to resign, that the Tribuneship should be restored, and that the Right of Appeal should be revived; and, lastly, that these corrupt Decemvirs should be burned alive. The Senate finally agreed to everything excepting the last proposition. Then the Plebeians held an Assembly, and elected ten new tribunes, Virginius, Numitorius, Icilius, and Duillius, with six others, in this way uniting the two conflicting orders.

Thus, in 449 B.C. "the blood of Virginia overthrew the Decemvirs, just as the death of Lucretia had driven out the Tarquins."

CHAPTER IX

FATE OF THE DECENVIRS.—HORATIAN AND CANULEIAN LAWS.—CENSORS.—QUÆSTORS.—CINCINNATUS.—THE WAR OF THE VEIL.—SOLDIERS PAID FOR THE FIRST TIME.—CAMILLUS.

440 B.C.—396 B.C.

AT the meeting of the Comitia of the centuries two consuls were elected, one from the Patrician and one from the Plebeian order; and the name of consul in its proper sense was used for the first time. Before this the consul had in reality only been a prætor. The old law of Valerius Publicola, which provided that every Roman citizen should have the appeal to the people against the power of the supreme magistrate, was revised in accordance with the Ten Tables and called "Valerio-Horatian Laws," and the clause, condemning any chief magistrate who should abuse his power to be burned alive, was added.

Appius Claudius appealed in vain when impeached, because he himself had abolished the Right of Appeal; and he was condemned to imprisonment; but being unable to endure the degradation of the sentence, he took his own life. Of the remaining nine Decenvirs, eight sought safety in flight and one died in prison.

In 445 B.C. the tribune, Caius Canuleius, contending that where there was no social equality there could be no political union, brought forward a new bill in behalf of legal marriage between the orders. But, despairing of the success of the measure, the

Plebeians again left the city and stationed themselves on the Janiculum Hill, saying that if they were not worthy to intermarry with the Patricians they would not live in the State with them. Seeing the disadvantages of such a situation, the Patricians finally thought best to yield to the terms of the Canuleian Law, which granted that children born of such a marriage could enjoy the privileges of those of unadulterated extraction.

The Patrician burgesses did not understand that in yielding the marriage of the orders they had sacrificed the principle on which the whole system of classes was based; and they resolved to veto a bill which had been presented, opening the consulship to the Plebeians. They even decided to abolish the consulship entirely, and appoint six Military tribunes from both Patrician and Plebeian ranks; though consuls were often chosen instead of the tribunes, even after this.

In 443 B.C. the Patricians created a new office of the most despotic character, in which the two incumbents chosen from their own ranks were called censors. These robbed the tribunes of the most important functions which had belonged to the consul, such as choosing the Senate.

The Plebeians gained some ground, however, and were legally admitted in 421 B.C. to a new office called the quæstorship. There were two of these at first, then four, called Quæstori Classici, half of them staying at home, and the other half taking the field with the consuls. They were finally again doubled, a quæstor being assigned to each general and to every governor of any little province. Vacancies in the Senate were filled up with ex-quæstors, and in this way the quæstorship soon became a stepping-stone to

the Senate, the Plebeians then finding admission into that body easier. A Plebeian was actually elected as Military tribune in 400 B.C. But it was not until 409, however, that the quæstorship was filled by a Plebeian.

On the Tiber, six miles from Rome, lay the old city of Fidenæ, which, in one of its repeated revolutions from Roman authority, had at last placed itself under the protection of the Veii; but Fidenæ fell in 437 B.C. and in the strife Aulus Cornelius Cossus slew the king of the Veii with his own hand and thus won the second *Spolia Opima*.

The truce made at this time having expired, Veii again was besieged by the Romans, in 405 B.C. Hitherto the Roman soldier had only gone forth for brief encounters without remuneration; but now, since the sieges lasted several years, and the men were often obliged to remain in the field for months at a time, a decree was passed to pay the army. This was a voluntary grant, not agitated even by the tribunes, and the news was received with transports of joy. The soldiers ran about in crowds, declaring that the Senators were fathers indeed, and that every man, while he had a drop of blood in his veins, ought to be glad to risk his person and property for a country so liberal to its citizens.

When in 396 B.C. the people of Capena and Falerii, who had at last come to the aid of the Veii, defeated the Romans, such a panic arose that the Roman matrons went forth and filled the temples; and the general disturbance was so great that Marcus Furius Camillus was appointed dictator.

In addition to defeat, there were omens and miracles, which made prayers and sacrifices go up to the gods like incense. At the end of the summer two

years before, the Alban Lake, situated high amongst the Alban Hills, began to rise; and in spite of all their petitions and offerings the waters continued to overflow; until at length messengers were sent to Delphi to ask what should be done.

Just at this time one of the soothsayers of the Veii scoffed at the Romans, who were investing the city, and told them that their efforts would be wasted since "it was written in the Book of the Fates that Veii could never be taken until the waters of the Alban Lake should find an outlet without entering the sea." A Roman centurion caused the old man to be sent to Rome, where the Senate ignored his predictions, until the messenger, returning from Delphi, confirmed them.

Then, convinced, the Romans constructed, for more than a mile through solid granite, an immense tunnel, which sent its waters by means of little canals through the land, fertilizing it before the water reached the sea. This tunnel, called an *Emissarium*, is still used as an outlet to the Alban Lake.

When the Veii perceived that the oracles were about to be mechanically realized, they lost heart and sued for peace; but the Senate refused to listen to them. Then one of the envoys called out: "It is also written in the Book of the Fates that Veii does not fall alone, but that Rome too shall lie in ashes." One Marcus Ceditius, a person of great probity, also informed the Military Tribunes that as he was going along the New Road the night previous he had been addressed in a loud voice, and, though he saw no one, he heard these words: "Go, Marcus Ceditius, and tell the magistrates that they must shortly expect the Gauls."

But all made jest of the warnings, and Camillus,

then dictator, went on blockading Veii; in addition, he began to sink a mine, which when finished would open a way into the citadel within the town. He then issued a decree inviting all Roman citizens to be present to share the plunder. The legend runs that one day as the king of the Veii was worshiping at the altar of Juno, he heard a voice foretelling victory for that nation which should succeed in finishing the sacrifice. At the same moment the astonished city beheld Roman men in armor rise from the ground. The king and most of the people were slain, and the victorious Romans cut out the sacred entrails, thus fulfilling the soothsayer's predictions. Camillus then sent a band of young men who had never imbrued their hands in blood, to take the great statue of the goddess Juno to Rome, and to place it in her new temple upon the Aventine. They, however, did not dare to approach her until they asked and received her consent to go.

Thus this prosperous city fell in 396 B.C., the tenth year of the war, and Camillus went up triumphantly to the Capitol in a chariot drawn by four white horses. But many predicted that Rome's pride would bring upon her the retribution of the gods.

The destruction of Capena followed, and the city of the Faliscans also was easily reduced. There is a legend that when they encircled the town the instructor of all the children of the aristocracy turned traitor and gave up the youths to the Romans; but Camillus, despising the falseness of his character, ordered that his hands should be bound, and that these very boys should flog him back into the town; "for," said he, "the Romans do not stoop to war with boys, they fight stalwart men." The Faliscans were so impressed

by this magnanimous action that they surrendered unresistingly.

All the other cities in that part of Italy were soon glad to unite under Rome, since they heard the tramp of their great foe, the Gauls, who had already planted their feet on the further side of the Apennines.

When all the inhabitants of the strong and beautiful city of the Veii, equal in size to Rome, had been absorbed into the Roman army, or sold into slavery, it was proposed by the tribunes that half of the people should take up their abode there and form another state. But eleven out of the twenty-one tribes of the Assembly voting against it, the bill was finally defeated.

The lands of the Veii, however, were distributed, seven jugera being allotted to each householder, and many moved thither.

As was the case with all the great men of Rome after they had conferred their benefits upon the citizens, Camillus' popularity declined. He had vowed a tenth of the spoils to Apollo if success should crown his efforts; but when the booty was divided he forgot to set apart this portion; and when he insisted upon the soldiers giving up a tenth of what they had received the Plebeians thought it was a pretense to rob them, and even accused Camillus of taking two bronze gates. At this time all Roman coin was in bronze, and these gates were accordingly costly. The tenth, however, was restored by the soldiers, and, since gold was scarce, the Roman wives brought their jewels and golden ornaments to form a massive vase, which was sent to Delphi to appease Apollo. The women were afterwards rewarded by permission to ride in chariots at the public games and sacrifices, and in open carriages on all other occasions.

When Camillus was impeached by the tribunes for corruption his clients and friends offered to stand as bondsmen; but he, rather than admit the implication of guilt, preferred to retire to Ardea, and as he was quitting the city he prayed the gods that the needs of his country might soon force the people to call him back.

It is thought that the people did not care so much about Camillus taking the gates, since a portion of the spoils belonged to the conquering general, but, that, weary of his arrogance, they found in this an excuse for complaint.

CHAPTER X

INVASION OF THE GAULS.—BATTLE OF ALLIA.—DESTRUCTION OF ROME.—REFOUNDING OF THE CITY.—ATTEMPT TO REMEDY ABUSES BY MARCUS MANLIUS.—LICINIAN ROGATIONS.

396 B.C.—354 B.C.

THE Gauls swept over Latium like a hurricane, destroying and annihilating everything as they passed. They were of the Aryans, who years before had separated on the shores of the Black Sea, the Gauls then going South and settling in France.

The Senones, who in 390 B.C. crossed the Apennines and attacked southern Etruria, were a mixed race of Gauls and Cimbri. Their chief was Brennus, the Cimbric name for king. Stalwart in form, of fair complexion, yellow hair and blue eyes, the Senones were just the opposite in all their characteristics to the people of southern Italy.

Brennus and his horde had first been enticed into Etruria by Aruns of Clusium, to avenge a wrong against him by a young noble. Aruns is said to have persuaded them to emigrate, by introducing among them wine, a hitherto unknown beverage, the taste of which so enchanted them that they snatched up their arms, and taking their parents on their shoulders, crossed the Alps.

Then Clusium, terrified at the approach of these Gauls, sought the assistance of Rome. The barbarians, however, paid little heed to the threats sent out from the Eternal City.

While the Fabii, who had been despatched as ambassadors by the Romans, were still at Clusium, a battle was fought with the Gauls, where these warlike young men, unmindful of the pacific character of their mission, took part in the fight; and, after slaying a Gallic chieftain, appropriated his arms. The Gauls in their wrath asked to be allowed to avenge the treason at once, but the chiefs instead sent a message to Rome demanding the surrender of her perfidious sons. The Senate referred the matter to the people, who, instead of delivering the Fabii to the Gauls, elected them as Military Tribunes.

In his indignation Brennus set his army in motion, and followed the river Clanis down to Rome. On the 15th of July, 390 B.C., the Gauls met the Romans at Allia, a little branch of the Tiber, where the latter, finding themselves overpowered, were seized with a panic and fled. Some plunged into the Tiber and crossed the river to Veii; but many were drowned and others were struck down.

A few reached Rome to spread abroad the account of the calamity, and ever after the word Allia was to the Romans a sign of terror. The anniversary of the battle was from that time a day set apart to appease the gods; and it was ordered that on it business, both public and private, must be suspended. This "Allian Day" was deemed doubly unfortunate; for, on that same date years before, the 15th of July, the Fabii had been slain at Cremera.

Since they had not enough men in the city to defend its walls, all the citizens of military age withdrew into the Capitol, and most of the Plebeians sought shelter at Veii; while the priests and Vestal Virgins found a welcome retreat in the Etruscan city of Cære.

They remained there for some time, and since they there performed their customary religious rites, these were ever after called "Cære-monies." Lucius Albinus helped the Holy Virgins to escape by carrying their household gods, although in order to do so he was obliged to leave his wife and children to trudge along behind.

The Senators who had grown old defending the glory of the State made up their minds to immolate themselves on her altar; and when they saw that the Gauls were surely coming they seated themselves in their ivory chairs in the Forum, each in his robes of state. The Colline Gate was left wide open and the Gauls entered together, marching slowly and suspiciously, but unimpeded through the deserted streets. When they reached the Forum, and first beheld the venerable men sitting in the Comitium, thinking they were so many gods from heaven sent to defend the city, they looked long and reverently at them. But finally an old Gaul, more venturesome than the rest, dared to stroke the hoary beard of Marcus Papirius to find out whether he were a man or a spirit. The old Senator raised his ivory staff and struck the hardy savage, who, afraid of spirits but not of mortal man, slew him; and this brought on a general massacre.

Though the Romans in the Capitol had hoped that the sacrifice of the Senators would propitiate the gods, they were now obliged to witness the plundering and burning of their beloved city; and after this the barbarians made up their minds to attack the Capitol. Surrounded on ail sides by steep, ragged cliffs, the only approach was from the Forum by the Cliva Capitolinus; but the attack there being fruitless, the Gauls settled down to a siege, part of their force

remaining in the city, while the rest went foraging and plundering through the adjacent country.

For seven months, from the 15th of July, 390 B.C., until the 13th of February, 389 B.C., they blockaded the Capitol; and, during this time, legendary history gives us many heroic tales.

One day the Gauls stationed at the foot of the Capitol, saw a youth named Caius Fabius Dorso descend into their midst clothed in priestly robes, and pass by the Forum to the Quirinal Hill for the purpose of performing some religious rites. Impressed by the sacredness of his purpose, they allowed the heroic youth to return to the Capitol unharmed.

Camillus had already surprised the camp of the Gauls before Ardea, and annihilated that portion of their tribe; and the Romans at Veii, having heard of it, and thinking that he only could save Rome, wished to consult with the Senate concerning his recall as dictator. Accordingly a brave youth, Pontius Cominius, started out to execute the plan. He crossed the Tiber by floating on pieces of cork, and entering the Carmental Gate, ascended to the Capitol on the river side by the steepest and most unfrequented way. After the young man had explained the situation to the Senate and learned their wishes, he scrambled back by the same path, having carried no letters lest he should be overtaken and the communications disclosed.

The next day, however, the sharp-eyed Gauls noticed the tracks on the rocks, and inferring that they might accomplish the same feat, the head of a party selected for the purpose that night reached the top in safety and found the guard asleep.

In the outer court of the Temple of Juno right at

hand there were kept the sacred geese which the Romans even in their famine had abstained from eating. True to the sanctity of their mission, the birds now cackled ominously, and Marcus Manlius, the keeper, awoke. Seizing his weapons, he rushed to the edge of the cliff and hurled the Gaul, whom he found at the top, over the precipice. In falling the latter dislodged many of the others, while the remainder were taken and slain.

History seems to forget that Marcus Manlius was sleeping at his post and he is handed down as the savior of the Capitol, as indeed he was. His comrades held his brave deed in such respect that each soldier gave him the thing most valuable at that time to a Roman, a day's allowance of food; and afterwards no vote could be obtained for his execution when he was tried for sedition until he was removed to a spot remote from the scene of his former bravery.

The Gauls had been encamped beneath the Capitol during the two most unhealthy months of the year in Rome, and Brennus, seeing his men falling on all sides from disease, finally proposed terms of peace to the Romans, agreeing to leave the valley on condition of receiving one thousand pounds of gold. Gladly the Romans collected and weighed out the shining metal; but with barbarian audacity Brennus threw his sword into the balance, demanding that the weapon also should be cancelled, at the same time crying out: "*Væ Victis*" (Woe to the vanquished), that is "the conquered must submit."

While the weight still trembled in the balance, Camillus, who had been appointed dictator, marched into the Capitol with the army which he had brought from Veii. He commanded the gold to be taken away,

saying that instead he would conquer the foe with iron; and he then destroyed the whole force of the Gauls.

There are conflicting stories concerning the transaction, and one is, that the Gauls were frightened away by an Illyrian tribe who were approaching from the North, and that they all left in safety after Brennus had received the gold, which was afterwards restored to Rome by one Livius Drusus.

When the Gauls departed, Rome was a heap of ashes. Then everyone felt that even the devotion to the State did not demand that they should stand by what no longer held their Penates. The large number who during the siege had lived at Veii already held a kindly feeling to its streets and houses, and proposed that all, Patricians, freedmen and Plebeians together, should now depart from the fated city and build up a new great town at Veii.

Camillus, with prophetic instinct, resisted with all the force of his great character. There, even in that magnificent Forum, overshadowed by the sacred citadel, and consecrated by eternal vows to the gods, whose images had been preserved at Cære, the Plebeians were ready to desert the Sacred City. But superstition decided the fate of Rome. As the memorable question was being debated in the Senate-house, the words were heard from without: "Standard-bearer, pitch the standard here, for in this place the gods bid you stay." It was only the voice of an old centurion giving his orders as he halted near the Comitium; but to the Senators it was like an augury, and they determined at once to rebuild the ancient city.

Since in the destruction of the town all the old records and commentaries were lost, it is not until this

date, 389 B.C., that authentic Roman history really commences.

The rebuilding of Rome was called its second origin, and from that era it continued to grow with redoubled strength and vigor. It was found impossible to ascertain the limitations of the ancient streets, or where the dwellings had been; therefore everybody was allowed to seize building material wherever it could be found; while the finishings for the houses were supplied by the State. Each man erected his dwelling on the spot from which he could clear away the rubbish the quickest, or where he could get at old material the easiest. Therefore in the formation of the crooked, narrow streets, houses were crowded against others and often built over the old sewers, so that the drainage was obstructed.

This malformation of the city continued for centuries, until after Nero's great conflagration, and on account of it the health of the citizens suffered greatly. Livy says of his own time: "How often have the extremities of danger been undergone before the structure of the Empire could be raised to its present magnificence, which the world can scarcely endure."

At the time the lower part of the present Capitol was being built in hewn stone, what was thought to be the augural staff of Romulus, crooked at the end and called *lituus*, was discovered under a heap of rubbish. It had been used for making out the several quarters of the heavens in divinations, since in this art Romulus excelled.

When Rome was at last restored, destitution stared many in the face; for, during the process of building, agriculture had been neglected, and some of those who

had been obliged to borrow money to rebuild their homes were subjected to slavery by the wealthy as in the latter days of the Republic.

It was at this point that Marcus Manlius, the defender of the Capitol, seeing the abuses, sold all his property, and endeavored to help his fellow citizens, but was impeached, and finally executed on the ground that he wished to assume arbitrary power.

He was thrown over the Tarpeian Rock; and it was enacted that none of his gens should thereafter bear the prenomens of Marcus.

The two distinguished tribunes, Caius Licinius Stolo, and his friend, Lucius Sextius, now, by their eloquence, carried the celebrated law which made the Plebeians eligible as consular tribunes.

A legend tells us that the Plebeian Licinius was instigated to this course through family pride. His wife, Fabia, was the younger daughter of the Patrician Marcus Fabius Ambustus, whose elder daughter was married to the Patrician Marcus Servius Sulpicius, consular tribune in 377 B.C. One night when the Plebeian's wife was visiting her Patrician sister, she was alarmed by the noise the lictors made knocking at the gate when Sulpicius returned home in state from the Forum. The elder daughter laughed at her unsophisticated sister, and Ambustus, the father, seeing her chagrin, vowed that his younger daughter should be put on a social footing with her arrogant sister.

However this may be, in 376 B.C., Licinius was elected Tribune of the Plebs; and then he promulgated what are called the Licinian Rogations: First, these bills regulated that interest should be deducted from the principal, and three years given for paying

off the debts; second, that no citizen should be allowed to hold more than five hundred jugera of public lands (a jugera being one and five-eighths acres); third, that two consuls should be elected instead of consular tribunes, one of these being always a Plebeian.

At first the Patricians, opposed to all these laws alike, persuaded the other eight tribunes to veto the bill. Licinius and Sextius, however, blocked all the proceedings, so that for five years, until difficulties outside demanded an army leader, the tribunes and ædiles, chosen by the consular tribune, were the only officers of the State elected.

Then a fourth bill was presented, asking that instead of two Patricians, ten keepers of the Sibylline Books should be appointed from both orders. Appius Claudius, grandson of the Decemvir, in a speech against the Plebeians, told them that they might mock at religion and the auguries, and say that it was a trifling matter if the sacred chickens did not feed, and if a bird chanted an ominous note; but, he added: "Our ancestors raised this State to the greatest eminence by attending to these omens, and you will see what will happen if the shrine of the gods, the Ancila, be committed to men who will pass laws contrary to these auspices."

This speech did not avail, and Publius Manlius, dictator, found himself powerless, so that the Plebeian law with reference to the Sibylline Books passed five of the ten guardians being Plebeians. At last, in 367 B.C., all three of the Licinian Rogations became laws, though the second of these, involving the land question, was often evaded by the wealthy Patricians and Plebeians who had possession of the public lands.

It is even said that Caius Licinius himself was indicted for putting five hundred jugera into the hands of his son, while he himself held another five hundred.

In accordance with the third bill of the Licinian Rogations, Lucius Sextius was chosen first Plebeian consul; but the Patricians desired to deprive the consuls of sovereign power; and Camillus, now a man of eighty years, though he had lost none of his discretion, was named dictator for the fifth time, in order to support them. He saw that nothing would do but to effect a compromise, and, although the Plebeian consul still held sovereign power, judicial control was vested in the hands of a prætor from the Patrician ranks, so that this order still retained the greater part of the influence.

Camillus, to commemorate what proved one of the greatest and most lasting events of Roman history, the union of the two orders, dedicated a Temple of Concord as a culmination of his busy and useful life. The site of this temple is to-day pointed out in the left-hand side of the Forum beneath the Capitol. (At this point commenced the period in which Rome, after having conquered Italy, gradually subjugated the whole world.)

Two years after this date, when a pestilence broke out, it was remembered that on a former occasion such a calamity had been warded off by the driving in of a nail. A law was brought to light, written in antique letters, and stating that, each year, whoever was supreme officer must on the Ides of September drive a nail into the side of the Temple of Jupiter where the Temple of Minerva stood, because numbers were the invention of that goddess, nails serving to mark the years. Marcus Horatius, consul, had first

performed this ceremony; and although the custom had afterwards dropped, it was now considered of such importance as to require the nomination of a dictator, appointed in the person of Lucius Manlius, to drive the nail.

Before the pestilence was stayed there were many victims, the great Camillus being the most illustrious. Livy gives this eulogy on his character: "He was in truth a man singularly eminent in every change of fortune. Before his banishment, the first person in the State, in exile still more illustrious; on being restored he effected his country's liberation, and for twenty-five years after he maintained a character equal to the high rank of glory allowed to the deserving."

About this time the Tiber overflowed the Circus Maximus so that the games had to be discontinued. Soon after a gulf opened in the Forum, and the sooth-sayers said that it could not be closed until Rome gave up its most valued treasures. Then a stalwart youth, named Marcus Curtius, stepped forward, in full armor and, mounting his horse, leaped into the gulf, while multitudes of men and women threw in over him their valuables. The earth then closed, and the place was ever after known as Lake Curtius. This is one of the three versions of the origin of the name of the lake, and the one to which Livy gives most credence; in speaking of it he says that Marcus Curtius acted according to the advice of the gods, who, when asked what constituted the principal strength of Rome, replied that it was the heroism of her brave sons.

The distress of the poor continued very great, and the tribunes of the Plebs, though failing to abolish

interest altogether, succeeded in the year 357 B.C. in reducing the rate from ten to five per cent.

Besides the other incursions of many neighboring nations, and the continued threatening attitude of the Gauls, these barbarians, in 351 B.C., made their third invasion; but they were easily overcome, since Camillus in his old age, anticipating their inroads and knowing that they aimed blows at the head, had furnished his Roman soldiers with helmets. He had also armed men with pikes, and placed a border of brass around their leather shields so that they might resist the swords of the enemy.

During all these years Rome had been carried through all her entanglements in a most miraculous manner, curious coincidences attending all her difficulties; thus it is seen, that, contrary to the usual trend of circumstances, when internal complications threatened, her enemies did not assail her; and when the foreign foe was at her door her citizens were united; and her counselors were wise enough not to involve the State in new complications when she was already in the midst of peril. Accordingly she came out of all her embarrassments a stronger and mightier nation than before. In 348 she had recovered all the Latin coast-line, and had exhibited her commercial importance by renewing with Carthage an old treaty which had been made in the first years of the Republic. By it the Carthaginians had bound themselves to make no settlements on the coast of Latium, while the Romans in turn had pledged themselves not to sail along the African coast south of the Hermean Promontory. But difficulties nearer home were first to be settled.

CHAPTER XI

LEGENDS AND SHORT ACCOUNTS OF THE SAMNITE AND
LATIN WARS.—THE HORTENSIAN LAWS.—MAGNA
GRAECIA.

354 B.C.—282 B.C.

THE scene now opens in the territory of the Campania in the upland region of the Apennines. Among the emigrants who went out from the mountains to seek a livelihood were the Samnites. A part of these occupied the upper valley of the Volturnus, where a fortified cliff at the summit of a great system of mountains was called Mount Matese. These old Samnites were largely shepherds, who drove their flocks in summer into the higher mountain regions, and when the autumn came descended with them into the valleys.

Nearly a century earlier, in the year 423 B.C., a band of these Samnites had seized the famous city of Capua, then called Volturnum, and had enslaved the aborigines. Under the name of Campanians, they soon became the ruling faction of the country, and lost all identity with the Old Samnites. The First Samnite War rose out of a quarrel between the Campanians and the Old Samnites of Mount Matese, in which the latter complained that an early league, made with the Romans in 354 B.C., had been broken on account of that nation assisting the Campanians in order to gain the control of Capua.

The three Samnite Wars lasted for half a century,

and were an important element in determining Roman authority and in leading up to her future greatness. In the first, from 343 to 341 B.C., Aulus Cornelius Cossus and Marcus Valerius Corvus were the consuls at this time, and most distinguished in carrying on the war. The latter was consul six times, and, aside from the legends and anecdotes which render his name famous, there is evidence that he was no doubt one of the most prominent men in Rome for many years.

The story goes that during the Gallic invasion of 350 B.C., a champion of the Gauls had come out and dared any one Roman to engage with him in single combat; and that Marcus Valerius, though only a boy beside the Gaul, readily accepted the challenge. As a most propitious omen, at the beginning of the contest a crow lighted upon his helmet, and, flying at the giant with his beak, flapped his wings in the latter's eyes, thus so disconcerting the Gaul that he became an easy prey to the young Roman, who ever afterwards was called Marcus Valerius Corvus.

Publius Decius Mus was another illustrious character of Plebeian family, who figured in the First Samnite War. When Corvus was winning a victory in the first battle at the foot of Mount Gaurus near Cumæ, the consul Cossus was blocked up by the enemy in a Samnite defile, and was only relieved by Decius Mus engaging the attention of the enemy until the former was able to lead his army out of the labyrinth. Cossus and Corvus soon formed a junction and together were afterwards victorious on several occasions.

Decius Mus was presented with a golden crown and a hundred oxen, one of which was glistening white and had gilded horns; and this one he sacrificed to

Mars. Three other crowns were given to him, and, besides, a double portion of corn, an ox and two vests to each of his soldiers; while universal thanks and applause were accorded to Decius and his men. After these victories even the Carthaginians sent a golden diadem for the shrine of Jupiter, with congratulations; and there was peace with the Samnites for fifteen years.

The great Latin War came about because the Latins were jealous on account of the peace which had been made by the Romans without consulting them in the First Samnite War, in spite of the fact that they had previously assisted Rome. In this war Publius Decius Mus gave up his life in a great battle at the foot of Mount Vesuvius. It was understood that the general who was worsted should sacrifice himself to the gods; and Decius Mus, finding that the liver of his victim in the offering before the battle was defective, was certain it was his own destruction which was decreed. Accordingly, when he saw his ranks breaking, mindful of his vow, he put on his toga and rushed with his army on to death.

An interesting legend tells us how Titus Manlius, consul with Decius Mus, received the cognomen *Torquatus*. When fighting with a gigantic Gaul on the bridge of the Anio in 361, he slew the Gaul and selected from his numerous barbaric trophies a massive chain (*torques*). This he put around his own neck, and returned in triumph to his friends, who added *Torquatus* to his former name.

After Pedum fell, in 338 B.C., and Tiber and Prænestes finally yielded, the Latin War ended at Antium, where the prows of the enemy's vessels were taken and set up in the Roman Forum as an ornament to

the stage from which the orators spoke; and in this way the word "rostra" (beak of birds or ships) came about; though some authorities state that it was not until after the First Punic War that this happened.

It was during the Second Samnite War that Alexander of Epirus, uncle of Alexander the Great, arrived with his army in southern Italy to assist Tarentum in a war with the Lucanians. In 332 he united with the Romans in bringing about various successes over the Samnites and Lucanians in turn; but he was slain in the Battle of Pandisia.

The beautiful city of Naples was in the beginning the Neapolis of ancient Italy, and the Second Samnite War, begun in 326 B.C., came about through its birth at the destruction of Palæopolis, the old Grecian colony of Parthenopia. The Samnites supported Palæopolis, while Rome entered into a treaty with Neapolis; and it was finally decided to settle the difficulties on the plains of Campania, and there decide which should be the conqueror in Italy, Rome or Samnium.

The disgrace of the Caudine Forks was the most notable event of this war, where, hemmed in by a narrow valley, though fighting for their lives to get out of the snare, half of the Roman officers were killed or wounded, and the loss in general was enormous. Pontius, the Samnite general, however, treated the survivors magnanimously, permitting them to go on condition that they would strive to effect a favorable peace. The officers, however, broke their word and tried to resume hostilities; but Pontius insisted on the fulfilment of the treaty. The next year the Romans sent a powerful force, which rescued six hundred knights, left as hostages, and reclaimed the arms and



NAPLES OF TO-DAY.

banners. This war closed in 304 B.C. at the Battle of Lake Vadimonis, when the Pentrian town of Bovianum fell.

After a truce of six years, the Third Samnite War began in 298 B.C. Here Fabius Maximus Rullus distinguished himself while leading the Romans against the immense force of Gauls, notwithstanding the auguries indicated that a tragedy was overhanging the Roman army. The second Decius Mus averted this defeat, however, by sacrificing himself in the same way that his father had done; and his heroic death so inspired the soldiers that the Gauls were soon put to flight. This Battle of Sentinum settled the fate of the war, there being only one or two engagements during the next five years; and in 290 B.C. the Samnites became subject to Rome.

Fabius Maximus Rullus tarnished his name by his treatment of Caius Pontius, who had dealt so generously with the Romans after the Caudine Forks disaster; for Pontius was beheaded by Rullus' order in the prison under the Capitol, after being forced to follow the latter's triumphal procession.

The only exclusive rights which the Patricians now held were the sacred offices of the Pontificate and Augurate. Though up to a little time before the recent wars agricultural labor had been performed by the Plebeians, the term "the poor" was no longer heard in connection with them; for they were materially as well off as the Patricians. Meanwhile, however, a new class had arisen—the freedmen. Many of these were the enslaved in Roman conquests who had been given their freedom on the death of their masters; and some of them, having gained wealth, had now become an important factor in the city. There was,

however, a large number less fortunate, who formed a new race of poor citizens, constituting a considerable portion of the population of Rome; but their right of suffrage was so small that it held only the proportion of one to seven in the Comitia Tributa. In order to gain political capital, many Patricians catered to this lowest class, since, when raised politically, their vote, used in any Patrician's behalf, would count equally to his own.

Among these demagogues was the fourth Appius Claudius, afterwards known as Cæcus the Blind. The Claudii were of Sabine extraction; and although Appius possessed the same ability as his ancestors, he also developed slippery qualities like his predecessors. In 312 B.C., during the late wars, Appius conceived the idea of forming a new political party from freedmen, and when he was chosen one of the censors, and his colleague, disaffected at some of his overt acts, resigned, he, being sole censor, arranged the votes of this class so that they became available in all the tribes, instead of only four; and this influence being cast on the Patrician side, greatly increased the power of the latter. These measures of his continued in force until thwarted in 307, during the consulship of Fabius Rullus and Decius Mus.

At the end of his eighteen months' term Appius Claudius was expected to resign, according to the custom, whenever a censor was deprived of his colleague. He, however, having laid the foundation for several great works, which would redound to his glory, was determined to hold office during the whole three and a half years in order to complete them. One of these mighty undertakings, still in a good state of preservation, was the Appian Road which leads from Rome to

Capua, passing through the Pontine Marshes to Terracina and on to Brindisi. This was one of the greatest achievements of the age.

The Appian Aqueduct also was commenced by Appius, and was the first to give a good water supply to the poor. Since the numerous enemies of Rome would have been sure to have destroyed raised columns, this conduit passed eight miles underground until it was within the city, and then it rose on a few arches near Porta Capena, and afterwards was carried to the lower parts of the city next to the river, where the poorer classes had hitherto been supplied with nothing but river water. Thus, although undertaken for his own emolument, these political projects really conferred lasting benefit upon those whose favor he sought. Appius held five consecutive terms of censorship, but by his arbitrary course became so unpopular that consuls were next elected.

At the close of the Samnite Wars, in 290 B.C., Marcus Curius Dentatus was consul. Although his is one of the most illustrious names in Roman history, he had sprung from the original Sabine stock, and, like all the Plebeians, worked on his own farm in company with his hired laborers; and when the envoys were sent out from the Samnites with costly presents to bribe Dentatus to take part with them, they found him roasting turnips at the fire. As they told him their business, he pointed to his simple repast, saying: "Leave me to my primitive pursuits, and those who would bribe me with gold shall be my subjects."

Dentatus, who had been commissioned to reprimand the Sabines for taking sides with the Samnites, restored them to order and then brought forward an Agrarian Law much like the Valerian and the Ho-

ration and Publilian Laws, only that he provided each man with seven instead of five jugera of land. But this measure was so violently opposed both by the Plebeians and Patricians that Dentatus was obliged to have a bodyguard of eight hundred young men always about him.

When the poorer classes, the political friends of Appius, were, in 286 B.C., reduced to the four tribes to which their votes were first restricted, they left the city and encamped on the Janiculum. Quintus Hortensius, then dictator, persuaded them to return by giving them a chance to make new laws in an oak grove near the Janiculum. They were called Hortensian Laws, and were an augmentation of the Agrarian Law of Curius Dentatus; but instead of seven, these granted fourteen jugera of land, about nine acres, to each of the poor citizens. Unlike his predecessor, Dentatus refused to take any more than any poor citizen; but five hundred jugera were voted to him by acclamation in view of his great services. At the time of the Hortensian Law the tribes deprived the Senate of its veto, and for the first time it was established that the voice of the people was the highest law. From this time there were no more strikes among the people until the era of the Gracchi, two hundred and fifty years later.

Up to this epoch the Romans had no dealings with the Greeks, except in consulting their oracles at Delphi. But there was a Greece at the South called Magna Græcia; for at about the time of the founding of Rome Greece had colonized the whole eastern and southern part of Sicily, and from the Bay of Naples down the coast. The extensive ruins of the Temples of Agrigentum and Silenus in Sicily, and those well-

preserved structures at Pæstum, show what large cities formerly existed where at present are found a few scattered houses. At Tarentum, on the gulf of that name, there is to-day a museum filled with old coins and other relics, preserved ever since the time of the magnificence of this ancient city. Criton, Thurii, Metapontum, Locri and Rhegium also still retain vestiges of their former Grecian splendor.

Among these imposing old towns was Syracuse, the antique parts of which are almost extinct. This was founded by the Corinthian, Archias, at about the same time as Rome. The tyrants, Gelo and Hiero, had held despotic power here from 485-467 B.C., the era of the Persian wars. Dionysius the Elder reigned thirty-eight years after this, from 405 B.C. It was under the latter's tyrannical sway that, with the assistance of the Lucanians, the downfall of the Greek cities of Lower Italy took place. This happened at the same era in which Rome was destroyed by the Gauls.

After a republic of thirty years, which preceded the reign of Agathocles, the Grecian colonies in Italy and Sicily fell from their pristine grandeur. Up to this time it had been the custom to call the eastern rulers tyrants instead of kings; but this had fallen into disuse ever since Alexander the Great gained such renown that no one ventured to designate him by so obnoxious a title.

Agathocles kept in his service an army of mercenaries, Campanian adventurers, who called themselves Mamertines, that is, servants of Mars, and attached themselves to the government which paid them best. On the death of Agathocles a large body of these Mamertines seized the city of Syracuse; and, when

they were forced to depart by means of heavy bribes, in crossing Italy they conceived the idea of capturing Messina. From this as a center they absorbed the most of northern Sicily at the very time that the Carthaginians held the rest of the island.

Prior to the time of the Samnite Wars Rome had been comparatively unknown and unfeared; but after the Samnites had submitted; and the Lucanians and Apulians had formed a league with Rome; and when already Palæopolis was a thing of the past, and Neapolis was at Rome's feet, it was feared by these southern cities of Italy that Rome would extend her sway to their land and knock at their gates for admittance.

CHAPTER XII

CAUSES OF THE ROMAN CONQUEST IN SICILY AND SOUTHERN ITALY.—THE WARS OF PYRRHUS.—BATTLES OF HERACLEA, ASCULUM AND BENEVENTUM.—DEPARTURE OF PYRRHUS.—GOVERNMENT OF ITALY BY ROME.

282 B.C.—265 B.C.

THERE was a treaty near the end of the Second Samnite War between Tarentum and Rome, by which the latter pledged herself to keep within the limits marked out by the Temple of Licinian Juno, and not to let any ships enter the gulf. At the close of the Third Samnite War, however, no power had been able to withstand Rome; and Tarentum saw that the latter would soon extend her power to the south; and accordingly she invited Pyrrhus, the greatest general of the age, to fight her battles for her.

The Romans, believing that the Tarentines had instigated all the recent harassing troubles they had been having with the Lucanians as well as the Etruscans and Gauls in the north, disregarded that old treaty; and Lucius Valerius sailed round the promontory devoted to Licinian Juno, anchoring in the harbor of Tarentum with ten ships.

It was a beautiful day in summer, and the people, as is the custom of the Italians, were all assembled in the public square, which commanded a fine view far out to sea. When they saw that the sacred compact was being openly profaned they were easily persuaded

by Philocharis, a demagogue, to retaliate. The men, all sea-faring by occupation, made for the harbor, and, tackling their boats, easily overcame the little fleet, four Roman ships being sunk, one taken, and Valerius himself slain. In the excitement of their success the victors took Thurii, a town the Romans had delivered from the Lucanians and fortified; and, having sacked the city, they sent the Roman garrison home, besides driving out the chief citizens because they had sought aid from Rome.

The Senate, deprecating war with a people who could support so large a navy, sent envoys to negotiate; and since the Tarentine aristocracy was also disinclined to war, a compromise might have been made but for an unfortunate juncture of circumstances. When the Roman envoys were led into the theater a festival was going on, and all were given up to "wine and wassail"; then Posthumius in his bad Greek began to explain his mission. At this the Greek populace roared with laughter, and one drunken fellow spat upon Posthumius' toga. All laughed again with shouts of approbation, and Posthumius, angered and insulted, held up his defiled robe, saying: "Laugh on; but this toga of mine shall never be made clean until it is washed in the best blood of the Tarentines."

The Roman people were so tired of warfare that even after this insult it was not until 281 B.C. that they decided to open hostilities. Æmilius Barbula, the consul sent out to ravage Tarentine territory, treated the citizens so mercifully that peace might still have been brought about if Pyrrhus, the King of Epirus, had not already been on his way with a large army to open the war; and in the midst of a terrific storm, in the winter of 280 B.C., the waves of the Mediterranean

washed him just alive from a shipwreck on to the shore of the Gulf.

Pyrrhus was born seven years after Alexander the Great died, and when he came to the aid of the expectant Tarentines he was thirty-seven years of age. He was the son of Æacides, and cousin of Alexander of Epirus. Left an orphan when hardly more than an infant, his life had been from that time romantic, daring and full of peril; and while still a youth he became master of the part of the kingdom of Macedon from which he was afterwards expelled.

He was distinguished in his personality, as well as generous and aspiring, and when the ambassadors from Tarentum came over and solicited his aid he was fired with ambition. Cineas, his counselor, at one time asked him what he would do after he had conquered Italy. He replied that then, since no Greek nor barbarian would be there to oppose him, Sicily would receive him as king. Cineas now inquired what he would do next. He answered that this would be but the beginning of greater victories, and he would then subdue Libya and Carthage, and finally make himself master of all Greece, and dictate terms of peace to Macedon herself. When asked what he would do next, he replied that he would live at his ease, eating and drinking and making merry. Then Cineas asked him why he could not do the very same thing at that moment without so much effort and bloodshed.

Pyrrhus had a force of about twenty-five thousand men and twenty elephants when he landed; but this was only a nucleus for the great army with which he intended to absorb Italy.

At the time the Tarentine populace, wild with expectation, were celebrating the coming of Pyrrhus with

dancing and singing, one of the citizens told them that, after the great general's arrival, they would have more serious business; and it soon appeared that Pyrrhus had no intention of fighting their battles for them as Alexander of Epirus had done. He meant that the Tarentine yeomanry should compose the bulk of his army. Accordingly he caused all the theaters to be closed, and all other entertainments to be given up. He got rid of the old ringleaders, and ordered those who were old enough, to be trained for the phalanx, which was a great military feature of the day.

In the first battle near Heraclea, in 280 B.C., the great phalanx, sixteen feet deep, was drawn up so that half of the body of each man was protected by his neighbor's shield at his right; and the long bristling pikes formed an impenetrable line, which, when broken, became a defenseless mass. Therefore level ground was necessary for effective action of the phalanx, as well as that of the cavalry and elephants.

When Pyrrhus looked over the enemy's camp he was so struck by the military order of the Roman troops that he said: "These barbarians seem in war not to be barbarians at all." Nevertheless, the Romans could make no headway against the enemy's phalanx, since they were not used to the elephants; and their horses rushed back into their own infantry ranks so that Pyrrhus advanced with new courage and sent the Romans across the Siris. The latter, however, re-formed and withdrew systematically.

When Pyrrhus the next day looked over the field and saw that the wounds of each Roman soldier were in front, he cried out: "If these were my soldiers, or if I was their general, we could go forth to conquer the world!" Then he added: "Another victory

like this would send me back to my kingdom without a single man."

Although some cities joined him, Pyrrhus soon saw that such a formidable enemy would soon use up his whole force of Epirotes. Accordingly, hoping to bring about an advantageous peace, he decided to send his counselor Cineas to Rome. This "magic-tongued orator" was famous alike for his diplomacy and eloquence; and his master often said that "Cineas had gained him more cities than he had won by arms." Cineas had so good a memory that he had scarcely visited the Senate once when he could call every Senator by name; and, although Pyrrhus demanded for terms that they should keep their hands off the Greek cities and restore the towns taken from the Samnites and Apulians in other wars, his eloquence was about to prevail in influencing the Senate to agree to these outrageous terms.

At this point, however, the formerly odious statesman, Appius Claudius, called Cæcus, stepped forward and by his patriotism redeemed his reputation. He was now a very aged man, and, having for a long time been blind, had retired from active life; but he was a wary politician still. Under the guidance of his four sons he entered the Senate-house and by his eloquence exacted the only reply worthy of Rome—that they would never listen to any terms while Pyrrhus remained on the shores of Italy.

Then the people became eager for war, and Cineas returning to Pyrrhus told him that "the city was like a temple of the gods, and the Senate an assembly of kings; and to fight the Roman people would be to try to overcome an hydra-headed monster."

Pyrrhus advanced to within twenty miles of Rome,

and, having retired into winter quarters, received overtures from the Senate for an exchange of prisoners. The envoy, Caius Fabricius, was distinguished for sterling qualities, living like Dentatus in great plainness and thrift. His gentle and courtly manners soon won the heart of Pyrrhus, who tried in vain by threats, adulation and bribes to win him into his service.

Pyrrhus, although he refused to return the Roman prisoners except on his own terms, sent them home on parole for the Festival of the Saturnalia, in order to gain influence with the Senate by their favorable reports. The Senate, however, forbade them to remain in Rome on penalty of death.

At Asculum, 279 B.C., Pyrrhus was again successful, though the Romans retired in such good order that he did not dare to follow up his advantage, since he could not trust his Italian soldiery, and his native troops were fast melting away. Pyrrhus now became anxious to conclude a treaty with the Romans, especially as things were going wrong in all directions, and reports reached him from Rome that his physician was offering to poison him for a bribe. To express his gratitude for the information, he returned all the Roman prisoners, and set sail for Sicily to fight against the Carthaginians and Mamertines, at the head of a Greek force.

But while he was returning, in 276 B.C., his ships, which were carrying away the plunder from the Temple of Proserpine, were wrecked; and, although Pyrrhus restored what was left of the booty, he considered this robbery the cause of his succeeding misfortunes. A Carthaginian fleet overtook him, the Mamertines at Rhegium attacked him, and he soon learned that the Romans had mastered his tactics.

Accordingly, after a defeat at Maleventum by Dentatus, in 275 B.C., Pyrrhus, seeing his troops every day growing less, decided to leave Italy forever. Maleventum was ever after called Beneventum.

Soon after, Milo, who commanded the citadel at Tarentum, sailed for Epirus with all his forces; and the Tarentines were obliged to pay an annual tribute, a Roman garrison being placed in the citadel, and their fortifications leveled. Pyrrhus died ingloriously two or three years later, struck by a tile thrown from the roof of a house, at the siege of Argos.

These encounters with Pyrrhus are said to have been the most straightforward contests in which Rome in her Italian wars ever engaged. It was on account of her wise regulations in respect to her colonies and subjected cities that she was enabled to enter upon her great career of world-wide conquest.

In the rule of her provinces her policy was at the same time isolation and self-government, the principle being that although managing their own affairs, divided, they could not combine against Rome. The cities which resisted Rome's power were treated as colonies or prefectures, their lands being confiscated and they being liable to all the burdens without the privileges of citizenship.

The shape of Italy rendered a thoroughly centralized government impossible, since the citizens of each burgh regarded themselves as owing duty to their own civic community rather than to the nation at large. The colonies consisted of three hundred men with their families, who occupied the conquered cities, usually sea-coast towns, as the Patrician class, and had all the rights of Roman citizens, while the original inhabitants, like the Plebeians in Rome earlier, were for-

bidden to contract marriages outside their station. The colonies were obliged to furnish and equip certain contingents of troops, but otherwise were not taxed.

At the outbreak of the Second Punic War there were thirty privileged colonies, whose citizens, after fulfilling certain conditions, could emigrate to Rome and become a part of the Latin tribes there. These had a Senate and two magistrates the same as consuls, and two other officers, who took the place of censors and quæstors. These colonies finally became a part of the body politic.

In becoming the great power she was, Rome had been assisted by the fact that she never had to contend with but one enemy at the same time; for instance, her contests with the Samnites occurred when the influence of Alexander was waning; and it was not until after the Samnite Wars that Pyrrhus came over to help the Tarentines against her, the fear of him causing the Carthaginians to make a friendly alliance with Rome.

Pyrrhus had seen the shape the relation of these nations was about to take, when, finding himself worsted by what had proved to him two invincible powers, he turned his ships' prows toward Epirus, saying: "What a battle-field we are leaving for Rome and Carthage."

CHAPTER XIII

CARTHAGE.—THE FIRST PUNIC WAR.—DUILLIUS AND
REGULUS.—NAVAL BATTLE OF HERACLEA MINOA.—
BATTLE OF PANORMUS.—BATTLE OF THE EGATIAN
ISLANDS.—HAMILCAR BARCA.—EVENTS AFTER THE
FIRST PUNIC WAR.

265 B.C.—218 B.C.

AT the beginning of her struggle with Rome, Carthage was the leading nation of the Mediterranean. She had been founded a century earlier than Rome, and was originally a colony from Tyre, the great center of Phœnicia, her language still being Phœnician or Punic. Three hundred Libyan cities acknowledged her sway, and the “waters of every sea were white with her sail”; while her dominion was absolute over the northern coast of Africa from Cape Bon to Syrtica, a distance of sixteen thousand stadia; and it was said that Rome could not wash her hands in the sea without permission from Carthage.

The occasion of the First Punic War was a dispute as to which of the two nations should absorb Sicily. The Carthaginians were obliged to rely on mercenaries from Libya, Gaul and Greece for their fighting force. They had only native troops enough to quell home feuds, while their slingers were from the Balearic Isles, and the Numidians made up their artillery; but their greatest strength lay in their fleet.

The Romans were so exhausted by their late conflicts that they scarcely would have entered into a new

war had they not counted, judging from Pyrrhus' short venture, on an immediate subjugation of Carthage. At this period there were on the Italian side no generals except Duillius and Regulus, and there was in the First Punic War no able commander in the Carthaginian army except Hamilcar.

At about the time of the absorption of Athenian power by Syracuse in 413 B.C., the Carthaginians had acquired nearly all Sicily; but in the third century before Christ, about 264 B.C., the Sicilians, hoping to gain independence, submitted to Roman influence; and with the idea of driving the Carthaginians entirely out of Sicily, the Romans besieged Agrigentum, which yielded after seven months. They soon saw, however, that all their exploits on land would avail nothing without a navy; and, consequently, they set about supplying themselves with an adequate fleet, taking an old Carthaginian ship which had been wrecked on their coast as a model; and in sixty days they had completed a fleet of one hundred quinquiremes and twenty triremes. In the meantime they had drilled the sailors by placing them on a staging ranged like benches on a ship, where they plied improvised oars. The Roman fighting-men were numerous; but realizing their disadvantage in naval warfare, they contrived some machinery by means of which the enemy's ships could be brought to close quarter, thus depriving the latter of any vantage-ground by making them engage in hand-to-hand warfare on sea, the same as on land. In this way the Romans made themselves masters of the situation.

In 260 B.C. Duillius captured thirty Carthaginian ships and sunk fourteen, and no man of that day was more talked of in Rome. A column, the Columna

Rostrata, ornamented with the beaks of the captured ships was set up in Rome in honor of the victory; and portions of these commemorative inscriptions are still seen to-day in the Capitoline Museum.



The Second Period of the First Punic War began in 256 B.C. with the sea-fight of Heraclea Minoa, which was the greatest naval spectacle mentioned in early

Roman history. Here the forces were commanded on the Italian side by Regulus and Lucius Manlius, while Hamilcar was the general of the Carthaginians. The legions struggled relentlessly with each other, hour after hour, until finally the Carthaginians were obliged to withdraw to Carthage, having lost a hundred ships and many men. Nothing now prevented the advance of the Romans to the African shore, the Hermean Promontory being only about ninety miles distant.

As the Romans, after landing at Aspia or Clupea, set out on their march, with no army before them to fear and no walled towns in their way, they saw a beautiful country spreading out before them in the highest state of cultivation. Herds of handsome cattle browsed in rich pastures on the hill-sides and verdant fields were interspersed with towns and villages, while the county-seats of the Carthaginian nobles, in the midst of olive-orchards and vineyards, made the rural landscape smile.

In view of this auspicious outlook, the Romans grew so self-confident that they recalled Manlius, leaving Regulus to prosecute the war alone, with only about fifteen thousand soldiers; but the latter proceeded with so much vigor that the Carthaginians, taken unawares, found themselves quite defenseless, and Regulus no doubt would have soon victoriously ended hostilities had not the Romans at home become intoxicated with success.

That autumn Regulus, besides reducing Tunis, took three hundred walled towns, and the next spring when he left his winter quarters, twenty miles from Carthage, he immediately appeared before the city. Envoys were sent to meet him, asking for terms, but

they received the preposterous reply that the Carthaginians must destroy their fleet, and pay an indemnity of war, besides giving up Sicily and Sardinia. Madened at such a wild proposition, the people overcame their jealousy for the Spartan Xanthippus and appointed him general-in-chief. The latter so ably managed the mercenary forces at command that he soon won a great victory over the Romans, in which Regulus was taken prisoner and borne in chains to Carthage, while the remnant of the Roman force was finally destroyed.

Losing a new fleet of two hundred and twenty ships in a terrible storm the next year, the Romans for a time gave up the command of the sea. In 254 B.C., the Battle of Panormus ensued, the greatest land-encounter in the First Punic War. Here, Lucius Sicilius Metellus, by skillful tactics, utterly defeated the Carthaginians. Among the spoils were one hundred and twenty elephants, the elephant ever after being seen on the coat-of-arms of the Metelli in memory of the victory.

The Carthaginians, now being anxious to finish the war, since the whole of Sicily except Lilybœum was taken, sent Regulus to Rome with an embassy with orders that he should return to Carthage if he failed in the negotiation.

Regulus was a man of the early Roman type, courageous, resolute and brave, covetous of glory, devoted to his country, and ready to die for a principle. On the ground that he was no longer a citizen, he refused to enter the city; and, when the Senate met outside to confer with him in the presence of the Carthaginian ambassadors, he told them that it was uncalled for to yield to terms for the purpose of ran-

soming prisoners who had ignominiously surrendered; and that they had better continue fighting until the Carthaginians were conquered.

Regulus returned to suffer terrible tortures awaiting him at Carthage. At first he was placed in a barrel filled with spikes and rolled for a long distance; after this his eyelids were cut off, leaving his eyes unveiled under a fierce African sun; and finally he was left to die of fever and thirst. Cicero writes eloquently of his patriotism; and Horace discourses of his courage in a characteristic vein, telling how he ignored the entreaties of family and friends and went forth to die with serene heroism, just as if he were leaving the bustling life of Rome to go into retirement and the enjoyment of rural pastimes.

The Third Period of the First Punic War was distinguished by the appearance of Hamilcar, the father of Hannibal; and the keynote of the situation was the downfall of Lilybœum. Publius Claudius, the Patrician consul, was defeated with terrible loss while trying to surprise the Carthaginian fleet off Drepana in 249 B.C. It was thought that this happened on account of his sacrilegiously throwing the sacred chickens into the sea because they would not feed; and, being recalled, he was forced to resign.

Hamilcar Barca, whose name signified lightning, though a man of great genius, was hampered by lack of resources. The genuine humanity of his character was seen, when at one time the Roman generals, after one of their defeats, had sent for leave to bury their dead, and Hamilcar unhesitatingly granted their request, saying: "that he warred not with the dead, but with the living." This was especially magnanimous, since a little time before one of the Roman

consuls had refused him a truce to bury his dead, telling him that he had better attend to the living and save further bloodshed by surrendering.

After waiting in vain eight years to take Lilybœum without a navy, the Romans built a fourth fleet, and in the battle of the Ægatian Islands successfully intercepted the Carthaginians off Drepana, thus closing the war, since it was not only now plain that Lilybœum was bound to fall; but all the commercial interests demanded it. Accordingly in 241 B.C. the Carthaginians agreed to return all the prisoners without ransom, to pay three thousand talents within twenty years, to meet the expenses of the war, to renounce Sicily, and give up all the small islands between the latter and Italy.

The First Punic War had lasted twenty-three years, from 264-241 B.C., and although the Romans came out rather ahead, their losses had been enormous, including seven hundred ships and five hundred thousand men, while Carthage had sacrificed only five hundred ships. The Romans, however, had not suffered commercially like the former, since, their people being agriculturists, the war carried on at a distance had hardly interfered with their peaceful pursuits.

The Gauls had been lured into northern Italy by the Insubrians, and the Romans feared that they were again about to sweep down into their country; but an army was sent to surround them, and in a great battle fought in 225 B.C., near the headland of Telamon in Etruria, this barbarian force was easily annihilated, because the Roman appurtenances of war had so greatly improved since their last invasion that the heavy broadswords of the Gauls bent at the first blow of the enemy. At the end of three years all the settle-

ments of the Gauls in the valley of the Po were added permanently to Rome.

During the long peace of twenty-three years following the close of the First Punic War the gates of the Temple of Janus, which had not been shut since the days of Numa, were closed for a short space of time; but there were soon other occasions for hostilities with petty neighboring nations. As, for instance, in the Illyrian colonies there was trouble because Queen Teuta had encouraged her subjects to plunder on the high seas, and in the course of the difficulties Illyria became subject to Rome, while Teuta was obliged to give up her power to Demetrius of Pharos, a province subordinate to Rome. When Demetrius, however, recommenced piratical inroads, Pharos was taken and Demetrius was obliged to find refuge at the Court of Macedonia. At last the Illyrian War was finished up in one campaign by Lucius Æmilius Paulus and Marcus Livius Salinator, the Island of Corcyra and the strong cities of Dyrrhachium and Apollonia being made tributaries of Rome under native rulers.

In 220 B.C. the Via Flaminia was built from Rome through the Apennines to the Adriatic by the Consul Flaminius, who had won a victory over the Insubrians, in a war waged because that nation had assisted the Gauls in their recent invasion. One of the incidents in the last campaign was the encounter between Marcus Cornelius Marcellus and the Insubrian chief, Viridomarus, whom Marcellus slew with his own hand, thus winning the third and last "Spolia Opima." Marcellus carried the armor of the Insubrian chief in triumph on his shoulders to the Temple of Jupiter Feretrius, consecrating it to that god.

CHAPTER XIV

FIRST PERIOD OF SECOND PUNIC WAR, AND EVENTS
PRIOR TO IT.—BATTLES OF TREBIA AND TRASIMENE.—
FABIUS MAXIMUS.—BATTLE OF CANNÆ.

218 B.C.—216 B.C.

IT was in the Second Punic War, the most remarkable struggle of antiquity, that the two heroes, Hannibal and Scipio, first appeared in history. Hannibal was not born until the time of the First Punic War, and Publius Cornelius Scipio, called Africanus, did not see the light of day until the gates of the Temple of Janus were closed for the second time in 235 B.C.

When Hamilcar crossed the Straits of Gibraltar in 238 B.C., bound for Italy, his son-in-law, Hasdrubal, and his son, Hannibal, then a boy ten years old, went with him. As Hamilcar was offering sacrifices before he sailed, he took his son, who was standing at the altar, by the hand and bade him swear eternal enmity to the Romans.

During his conquest of Spain Hamilcar had acquired a well-drilled army of hardy Spaniards by means of which he wished to subjugate Italy. But, after ruling Spain for eight years, he fell in a battle on the Tagus, when his son Hannibal was only eighteen years old. Accordingly his son-in-law Hasdrubal succeeded him, and valiantly carried on his work for eight years, when he was assassinated in his tent.

Hannibal at the age of twenty-six was elected general-in-chief and ruler of Carthaginian Spain by the

acclamation of the army. After all these centuries this great general stands out in history unequalled except by Napoleon in military tactics.

From his boyhood Hannibal lived with his father in the camp, where he developed the highest military genius. He maintained a kind of comradeship with his soldiers, and was able physically to endure all the vicissitudes of army life—heat, cold, fatigue and hunger—even better than the men; and besides these traits, he possessed wonderful sagacity, an equable disposition, and great magnetism, all of which endeared him to all nations alike. Besides this, by his strong will he was able to keep together a mixed army of great size, far from their base of supplies, and to wage a destructive war for sixteen years against the conquerors of the world, without one mutiny in his camp.

As early as 219 B.C. Hannibal passed the Castilian Mountains, and soon subjected all the tribes south of the Ebro; and after an eight months' siege, regardless of an article in a former treaty in favor of that city, he dared to take Saguntum. At this early epoch in Hannibal's career the Romans demanded his surrender; and a large party at Carthage, who had never supported him, desired to give him up. The general sentiment, however, at Carthage was hostile to Rome, and accordingly the request was not granted.

At last, in 218 B.C., when Hannibal was twenty-eight years old, war was again declared between Rome and Carthage. The force Hannibal commanded consisted mostly of Spanish infantry picked from the best of Hasdrubal's trained warriors; and besides these he had a large body of Libyan troops. Hannibal left his brother Hasdrubal at New Carthage to collect a reserve, while Mago, another brother, went with him

These three had been called by their father the "lion's brood."

Hannibal had departed from New Carthage in the May of 219 B.C., with one hundred thousand troops, but five months later, when he arrived in the valley of the Duria in northern Italy, he had only about twenty-five thousand. Eleven thousand had remained for defense near the Ebro; eleven thousand more, appalled at the hardships before them, had returned home early in March with Hannibal's consent; and other losses had reduced his force, while still on the other side of the Pyrenees, to fifty thousand; and the casualties of war, together with the exceptional hardships of a march over the Alps, accounted for the rest of his losses.

The Senate had supposed that this, like the First Punic War, would be fought abroad. Accordingly they sent the Plebeian consul, Sempronius Longus, with a fleet to Sicily, for the purpose of later crossing over to Africa, while Publius Cornelius Scipio was to sail for Spain to fight Hannibal there. Scipio, however, had been detained in putting down a revolt in Cisalpine Gaul, instigated by Hannibal; and when he sailed with his troops from Pisa for Spain, at the mouth of the Rhone he learned that Hannibal had already crossed the Pyrenees and had arrived at Avignon in France, being even then in the vicinity on the banks of the Rhone. Knowing that it would be impossible to track him in that wild and unknown region, Scipio, after exterminating a tribe of Gauls who were working in Hannibal's favor, despatched his brother Cnæus to Spain with the fleet and a consular army, while he himself returned to Pisa to await Hannibal's arrival.

Hannibal in the meantime had continued his march into the country of the Allobrogii, and, led by one of their chiefs, had penetrated as far as the present fortress of Grenoble, which was two or three days' march from the foot of the principal Alpine chains. After meeting with some favors in the way of clothing and arms for his soldiers, and with many more serious adventures through the treachery of the Gallic mountaineers, who intercepted his march by throwing rocks and huge boulders in his way, Hannibal at last arrived at the summit of one of the Alpine mountains. Assembling his soldiers, he pointed to the valley below and said: "This is Italy, and we are now on the direct road to Rome." His army, however, found the descent incomparably harder than the ascent had been. The path was blocked with snow; and ice bridged the chasms, so that men and horses fell into fathomless gulfs, and avalanches kept the engineers busy clearing the way for the army's advance. Nearly all the elephants died from the unaccustomed cold and rough usage; and also many of the cattle. This was in October, after they had set out from Spain in May. In addition to the heavy snows, which always fall in the Alps during this month, there was plenty of ice on the sides and summits, left over from the year before.

It took Hannibal fifteen days from the top of the mountain to reach the valley of the Duria; and here he found what his reverses had been, and that he only had a quarter of the troops with which he had set out from Spain. It was the Little St. Bernard Pass that Hannibal had crossed, arriving at Aosta; and from here he marched directly for Milan, the country of the Insubrians. To reward the hospitality

received here, he immediately attacked the Taurini the formidable enemy of the Insubrians in the city of Turin.

This was early in the December of 218 B.C. At the junction of the Ticino and the Po Hannibal overtook the cavalry of Scipio, who himself was waiting to surprise Hannibal. The Romans were worsted in the first slight skirmish of the cavalry, and Scipio, being wounded, was saved by his son, Publius, the future great Africanus, a youth of seventeen years. Scipio then recrossed the Po, and, beyond the Trebia, was joined by Sempronius Longus, who in forty days had come up from southern Italy by land, having sent his army over the Straits of Messina from Sicily. Hannibal was in haste for a successful battle, certain that this would cement the vacillating friendship of the Gauls. He therefore resolved to oblige the enemy to come to him across the Trebia, which in summer is only a babbling brook, but in winter a swollen torrent. Accordingly, in the early morning, he sent his Numidians across the rapid stream.

Scipio tried to dissuade Sempronius from general action; but the latter, when he saw the Numidians, sent out four thousand cavalry, and drew out his whole army of thirty-six thousand to support the attack. Thus Hannibal's plan succeeded; for the Numidians, feigning defeat, fled across the river and Sempronius' army pursued.

When the Romans reached the other side, benumbed with cold and hunger, they were immediately confronted by Hannibal's cavalry and elephants. They, however, kept their ground bravely, until Mago rushed out from ambush and attacked them in the rear. Then the rout became general, and only ten thousand Roman

soldiers were able to reach Placentia, the rest being slaughtered or drowned in the river. Although Sempronius sent home a false account of the battle, the facts were soon published; and this Battle of Trebia, in 218 B.C., left Hannibal master of Cisalpine Gaul.

The objective point in the next campaign was to keep the enemy out of Central Italy. Sicily, Sardinia and Tarentum were garrisoned against the Carthaginian fleets, and the Flaminian road from Rome to Ariminum (Rimini) was kept guarded.

Hannibal's policy was to make friends with the allies of Rome in order to attract them to his support; accordingly he tended the wounded and pacified with presents the prisoners he released.

Notwithstanding the precautions taken on the part of the Romans to bar central Italy from the enemy, Hannibal now passed along the northern side of Lake Trasimene to Perugia and took a stand on a tableland near the modern village of Passignano, a place well suited for an ambushade; and here he awaited the approach of Caius Flaminius, consul of the year, who, having heard that Hannibal had adroitly succeeded in passing him by, was following in hot pursuit.

In the morning, as Flaminius advanced in a mist which hung over the lake and the lowlands, so thick that he could not see the adversary, he heard the enemy's battle cries, and his forces halted on the hill.

- In a moment his army was assailed on all sides. Flaminius, with many other brave men, died fighting in the hottest of the contest, fifteen thousand Italians falling in the fatal Battle of Lake Trasimene. This was in the spring of 217 B.C. In violation of his pledge, Hannibal threw all the Roman citizens into chains, but proclaimed to the allies that he came not

to enslave the Italians, but to fight for their liberty against Rome.

While the armies were contending at Trasimene, an earthquake shook the hill, overturning whole cities, changing the course of rivers, and tearing up mountain-tops; yet, so absorbed were the combatants, that not one of those engaged in the battle noticed the violent commotion.

Hannibal remained near Lake Trasimene to bury his dead and look out for the wounded. He tried to find the body of the generous but reckless consul Flaminius in order to inter him with the honors due to his bravery; but no account was ever given of what became of his remains. Flaminius has been criticized not only for his rashness, but for attempting battle with a river behind his soldiers, a situation which made retreat impossible.

The dismay which fell upon Rome when it was known that her armies had been routed can hardly be described; no one can imagine the agony, the cries, the tears and myriad voices which gave utterance to their feelings of terror and of grief. The gates of the city were thronged with people of every age and condition, wives and mothers demanding some tidings of those most dear to them. The Senate having called a session, the prætor came into the Forum where the people were assembled, and, ascending the Rostra, uttered these laconic words: "We have been defeated in a great battle."

After three days, although Hannibal did not arrive as was feared, news was brought of fresh disasters, and the old Senators, who had ordered the bridges over the Tiber to be cut down, sat discussing in the Senate-house measures of safety for the city until it

was finally resolved to elect a dictator. The person decided upon was Quintus Fabius, surnamed by the Romans Maximus, or The Great, a descendant of Fabius Rullus.

Fabius Maximus is remembered as the originator of a doubtful policy, delay in war—that is to worry the enemy when it is not safe to risk a pitched battle. The Romans called him the “Cunctator,” which means delayer. Later he was also called “Ovicula,” or The Lamb, because he had such a mild disposition.

Fabius consulted the Sibylline Books and advised the Senate to consecrate to the gods all the young which the next spring should produce on the mountains, the fields, the meadows and in the rivers of Italy, and also to spend large sums of money on the great games celebrated in honor of these deities. But with all his devotion to the gods he placed his hopes of victory largely on his own efforts, believing that success attends valor and wisdom.

In order to dishearten the enemy and destroy their chances, Fabius took care to encamp above Hannibal's forces on high and mountainous places. When the Carthaginian army was at a standstill, he kept his troops in the background, and when they were in motion he showed himself upon the heights at such a distance as not to be obliged to fight, and yet near enough to disquiet them.

Hannibal alone understood the adroitness of Fabius and his method of carrying on the war; and accordingly he conceived a plan to entrap him and bring him to battle. Fastening fagots to the horns of two thousand oxen, he lighted them and had the oxen driven to the mountain in sight of the army of Fabius, while he with his troops marched slowly forward. For a time

the fire consumed the torches only, and the oxen moved quietly on, and seemed like an army marching in order up the hill. But when their horns were burned to the roots, and the fire pierced their foreheads, mad with pain, they ran up the hills, with their tails and heads flaming; and as they tossed them about they set everything on fire.

The Roman soldiers who guarded the pass, thinking that they should soon be surrounded by the enemy, apparently running up and down with torches, took shelter with the main body in the camp, and Hannibal's forces marched safely through, loaded with rich booty. Fabius did not discover the stratagem until some of the oxen fell into his hands.

Meanwhile, outcries arose at Rome against the policy of Fabius; and he was soon recalled to give account for keeping two consular armies idle for months, and for allowing the Carthaginian army to despoil Samnium and Campania under his very eyes. When the Senate foolishly made Menucius, Fabius' master-of-horse, equal in rank with the latter, Fabius preferred to hand over half the army to him rather than share the commission; but at the same time he reminded Menucius that "he had to contend with Hannibal and not with Fabius." But Hannibal got Menucius into a trap and would have overcome him, had not Fabius come to the rescue and obliged the Carthaginian general to retire.

The two consuls who succeeded Fabius as dictator followed out the same policy, but Caius Ferentius Varro and Lucius Æmilius Paulus were next elected, Paulus being the general who had finished up the Illyrian war. Varro complained of Fabius' methods, saying that in one day he could beat the enemy if he

could get sight of him, and he so influenced the multitude that he was able to raise nearly a hundred thousand men. Fabius, with many other wise people, was alarmed lest such a number of Roman youths should be sacrificed, as so many others had been; and the former warned Æmilius Paulus that his difficulty would not be so much in conquering Hannibal as in combating the rashness of Varro, since the latter would fight because he overestimated his own strength, and the former because he understood the latter's weakness. Fabius also predicted that, if left alone for a year, Hannibal, who had already lost two-thirds of his original army, would be obliged to quit Italy.

As the spring advanced, Hannibal, having received recruits from Cisalpine Gaul, made a forced march, and, seizing the Roman magazines, pitched his camp near Cannæ. Æmilius Paulus desired to put off the engagement in order to draw Hannibal's army on to ground less favorable for the phalanx, but Varro, since the constitution provided that each of the consuls could act with entire authority on alternate days, would not yield; and Paulus had frequent reason to remember the injunction Fabius had given him on setting out: "Do not forget that you have to fight not only Hannibal, but Varro."

On the 2d of August, 216 B.C., Varro drew up his troops on the opposite side of the river facing the south, and set up a red mantle over the general's tent as a signal of battle, while Hannibal immediately crossed over the Aufidus after him. The Carthaginians were at first disheartened at Varro's bravado, especially since they noticed that the Roman army stood eighty thousand to their forty thousand. They took courage, however, when Hannibal made light of

the anxiety of his general Gisco, saying: "There is another thing more surprising than the enemy's numbers, there is not so much as one brave Gisco among them."

When Æmilius Paulus found that it was useless to resist, he did all in his power to support Varro. But Hannibal took every advantage of the ground and posted his men with their backs to the violent and scorching wind, so that it drove from the dry plains clouds of sand over the heads of the Carthaginians into the eyes and nostrils of the Romans, obliging the latter to turn away their faces and sometimes to break their ranks.

In the first onset, although the main Roman army advanced against Hannibal's center, the heavy cavalry of the latter drove the mounted men of the Romans across the river. "As Hannibal had planned, his long crescent-shaped line fell back into a concave figure, and retired slowly so as to draw the Roman legions on between the African flanking columns. The Romans, pressing fiercely upon the enemy's retreating lines, were soon attacked by the African flank, which scattered them in such great disorder that, when the decisive charge came, the defeat was complete," and the engagement became a slaughter.

In the panic which followed Varro escaped with seventy mounted men; but among the lost were a large number of the aristocracy of Rome, a proconsul, a consul, and, besides the quæstors and tribunes, there were some eighty Senators.

This defeat at Cannæ was the most bloody that history records; and through it the great army organized at Rome for the purpose of vanquishing Hannibal was utterly annihilated. Within eighteen months one-

fifth part of the whole male population over seventeen years old is said to have been slain.

Ever after the departure of the consuls the people had frequented the temples to offer vows and divine the auguries in order to foretell the outcome of the contest; and when the news of defeat came their despair became a stupor.

Among the fugitives who brought the tidings was Cnæus Cornelius Lentulus, a tribune of the legions. As he left the field he had seen the consul Æmilius Paulus leaning against a tree mortally wounded. Lentulus had offered him his horse, but the consul replied: "I am past relief; yet hasten thou to Rome and tell Quintus Fabius to make ready the defense of the city; also say to him that Æmilius Paulus died as he had lived, never forgetful of the admonition and the example of Fabius; but he was first overcome by Varro, and then by Hannibal."

CHAPTER XV

PREPARATIONS FOR SECOND PERIOD OF SECOND PUNIC WAR.—ROME THREATENED BY HANNIBAL.—CONTESTS IN SPAIN.—TAKING OF SYRACUSE BY MARCEL-LUS.—DECLINE OF HANNIBAL'S INFLUENCE.

216 B.C.—210 B.C.

THE Senate was now called together and Fabius given full command. He gave orders that there should be no gathering of the people in the Forum, no public lamentation, and that thirty days only should be allotted to individual mourning. The gates were to be guarded so that no person could go out without permission, and any messenger with news who had escaped from the army was to be brought immediately to Fabius. The Feast of Ceres fell within thirty days; but as there was no matron in Rome who did not bewail the loss of husband, father or brother, it could not be celebrated, since by law no one who was in mourning could take part in it.

The old men and boys of tender age were organized into military bands for the defense of the city against Hannibal's expected approach. But the great Carthaginian general, when within five days of Rome, was suddenly seized with a panic, it is thought because he felt that his appearance before the walls would cause the Romans to rise in greater activity, and because he feared that his army, being too small to undertake a siege successfully, would be worsted. The Carthaginian, Barca, aggravated by his hesitation, said to

him hotly: "Hannibal! You, who know so well how to gain a victory, have never learned to use it!" This is acknowledged to have been Hannibal's weak point, and Hannibal himself afterwards admitted his mistake in this case, in not following up that day's success; and he would often cry out in his hours of exile: "Oh! Cannæ! Cannæ!"

Accordingly, instead of pushing ahead, Hannibal despatched messengers to demand terms of peace, but the Senate sent these back to Hannibal's camp without an answer.

Fabius proved himself, as ever, a wise counselor, and executed all the affairs of the State with coolness and wisdom. Marcus Claudius Marcellus, the prætor, was placed as general over the fugitives which Varro had collected. Marcellus (the name meaning martial) was a man of great courage, skilled in the use of arms and naturally aspiring. It was Poseidonius who called Fabius the "shield" and Marcellus the "sword" of the Romans. Horace writes of Marcellus as "lofty in heart, in courage fierce, in war delighting." One was the counterpart of the other. Sure that Hannibal's army would soon wear itself out, Fabius continued his original policy, while Marcellus wished to rouse his men by a vigorous stroke.

About this time a band of young nobles at Canusium under a certain Metellus, having given up all hope of the Republic, formed a plan to leave Italy and enlist in some foreign army. Young Publius Scipio, then a youth of nineteen years, immediately went to the dwelling of Metellus and, standing over him with a drawn sword, made him swear that he would not desert the Republic. Varro also redeemed his rashness at the Battle of Cannæ. Having moved to Canusium

with his camp, he spared no pains in gathering about him the remnants of the defeated army, and, having put them under the leadership of Marcellus, he set out for Rome.

The nation now demonstrated that they had arrived at the highest degree of Roman culture, since a people less refined would have barbarously taken Varro's life on account of his late defeat. As it was, one can hardly imagine the sensation of remorse and apprehension with which Varro approached Rome. What was his surprise, therefore, when the Senate and people came out to meet him, and publicly thanked him for showing by his late action at Canusium that he did not despair of the Republic's life. At the same time, however, a vote was passed that all the soldiers who had been defeated at Cannæ should be sent to serve in the army of Sicily for a year without hope of honor or emolument; and that Metellus and the other men who had wished to desert the Republic should be deprived of their civic rights.

During the six years in which Hannibal had been ravaging the territory of the Romans, he had slain more of her citizens than now made up her army; and when levies were raised in Rome and Latium, it was found that a hundred thousand men would not make up her losses. Since so few were now found on the military lists, the Senate was forced to purchase eight thousand slaves for service in the army, and to enroll debtors and others usually ineligible as soldiers. The commanders were again ordered to keep on the defensive and not to risk a battle.

It looked as if all Italy would soon be in insurrection against Rome, since Capua had surrendered to Hannibal, and the south had declared in his favor. But

the Romans soon encircled Capua with sixty thousand troops, while Hannibal was attempting to besiege Tarentum; and the latter's only hope was that, if he threatened Rome itself, the army of the enemy might be recalled to defend the capital. Therefore he began his march to Rome. The terror-stricken inhabitants fled before the tread of his army, and he left behind him blood and ashes. It had been one hundred and fifty years since any enemy had approached the Eternal City, and consternation seized all. Women fled panic-stricken to the temples, demanding help from the gods, and all the males capable of bearing arms manned the walls. Quintus Flaccus Fulvius left the blockade of Capua in the hands of one man, and, getting ahead of Hannibal, appeared before the walls before the Carthaginian general, who had taken a circuitous route by the north, reached there. It is thought that Hannibal never seriously expected to take the city; but as a matter of bravado he rode up with his staff of officers and affixed darts to the Colline Gate. Then, "overcome by the unmoved confidence of the foe," he withdrew as rapidly as he had advanced. This was in 211 B.C.

Capua immediately surrendered to the Romans, its principal men being sold into slavery, while some were mercilessly scourged, and others left to starve in dungeons. Vibius Virius, one of their leaders, had evidently anticipated this severity; for, at a banquet given to the Senators the night before the town was given up, he passed around a poisoned cup, which was drunk by all.

The stern old Fulvius had already put out of the way twenty-eight leaders at Teanum, and was about to slay twenty-five other prisoners ready for execution

at Cales, when a messenger brought orders to spare them and bring them to Rome. Fulvius, however, suspecting the contents, thrust the letters into his pocket and did not open them until all were put to death. Everybody upheld Fulvius for this action, and even the Senate did not complain, because the Capuans had revolted in face of such former generous treatment; and all the privileges of the city were now taken away.

Just before Capua surrendered Hannibal had retaken Tarentum. It had been delivered up by the treachery of two Greeks, on a night when there was a great carousal among the Roman officers. But the citadel was never occupied by the Carthaginians. Hannibal now saw that in order to finish the war assistance must be obtained from Carthage; and Mago carried home the tidings of their great successes, "pouring out on the floor of the Senate-house as proof of the victories a bushel of gold rings, worn by the Roman knights who had fallen on the fatal battle-field of Cannæ." The Carthaginian government, however, influenced by Hannibal's adversaries, was lukewarm in Mago's behalf, inquiring why he needed men and money if he had taken so many Roman cities and had won such splendid spoil. So all the aid that ever reached Hannibal was a body of four thousand Numidians, forty elephants, and a small supply of money, Mago being obliged to use the other reinforcements to support his brother Hasdrubal in Spain.

Nor had things always gone on smoothly in Spain, since Cnæus Scipio, in the year 218 B.C., replaced Publius Scipio the Elder, who had returned to meet Hannibal after his descent over the Alps. Within twelve months from that time Cnæus Scipio had driven

the enemy across the Ebro; and, while Hannibal was beating the Romans at Trasimene, Cnæus Scipio was defeating Hasdrubal by sea, and ravaging the coast as far as New Carthage. Then, in 216 B.C., at about the time of the Battle of Cannæ, Publius Scipio joined his brother; and while Hannibal was rejoicing at his conquests in southern Italy, the two Scipios, having defeated Hasdrubal, the son of Gisco, were masters in northern Spain. But after this, when Publius, in 212 B.C., was conquered and slain, and his army annihilated, the whole of the Carthaginian force assailed the troops of Cnæus Scipio as they were retreating, and put them to flight with great loss, that general never being heard of again.

The death of the two Scipios made up to the Carthaginians a part of their losses in Spain; but in spite of the bright hopes that Hasdrubal would bring over able assistants into Italy Hannibal's influence was every day perceptibly waning. The Romans on the other hand had reason to appreciate their own great losses, when, on calling the list of the Senate, one hundred and seventy-seven members were found missing. In 214 B.C., in order to meet the vast expenses of the war, what they called "ship-money" was levied for the first time; that is, anyone owning a certain amount of ratable property was required to furnish and fully equip one or more seamen, Senators eight men, and others in proportion to their wealth.

The state of public feeling is well defined by a law which forbade "any woman to wear a party dress or to be found with more than half an ounce of gold ornaments on her person, or to be caught within a mile of any city or town in any kind of a carriage." Of their silver the Romans reserved their rings, the trap-

pings of their horses and the "bullæ" of their sons, besides the family salt-cellar and a small vessel for the service of the gods; of copper they could have five thousand pounds.

The great defeat at Cannæ vindicated the words of Fabius Maximus, when he had the courage to avow that the Roman militia was no match for Hannibal's veterans. Fabius' policy of gaining time was carried on until Publius Scipio took charge of affairs.

Hiero II., the old king of Syracuse, who had half a century previous made terms with the Romans and had ever since kept faith with them, now died, and his grandson Hieronymus having been assassinated, Hippocrates and Epicydes were made generals-in-chief. But these, failing in their efforts to control the government of Syracuse, fled to Leontini, after which Marcellus, having been given the command of Sicily, took Leontini by siege, in 213; but he was so tyrannical that Hippocrates and Epicydes were recalled and Syracuse closed its gates against Rome.

Marcellus now attempted to storm the city, but was opposed by the celebrated mathematician Archimedes, who, although seventy years of age, devoted himself to thwarting Marcellus.

In spite of the fact that Archimedes was so absorbed in abstruse problems that he often forgot to eat his meals, he was still in his prime for all practical purposes. His methods in arming the intrenchments was with ballistas and catapults, so that if the ships ventured under the wall they were crushed by thousands of large stones hurled from the battlements and other projectiles sent from the loop-holes in the honey-combed wall. Sometimes the ship's prow would be grasped by a descending iron support, which would

lift it up and then let it go suddenly, so as to plunge the ship ahead into the water, sinking it. "Burning glasses" were also placed so as to set the Roman ships on fire as though they had been tinder; and finally Marcellus was compelled to give up taking the town by assault; but in spite of all his repulses he did not abandon the struggle.

One evening, noticing a tower so slightly guarded that access was easy, he provided scaling ladders, and while the people were drinking freely on the festival of Diana, he took possession of the turret undiscovered, and forcibly entered the fortress of Hexapylum, which commanded the different portions of the city, Neapolis, Tiche and Epipolæ.

Marcellus ordered all the trumpets to sound, and the people, believing that the whole city was lost, betook themselves to flight. The Achradina suburb, which was the strongest, the most extensive and loveliest part of the town, was not yet taken, since it was divided by walls from the rest of the city.

Marcellus, as he looked down from the Hexapylum, the citadel, into that magnificent city, the Achradina, wept with pity at the thought that it must be robbed of its beauty and plundered by his soldiers.

The forces of Hippocrates were wasted by disease and he himself soon perished. Epicydes, despairing of assistance, fled to Agrigentum, which he held for a long time by the help of Mutines, a half savage Carthaginian officer. The same night that Marcellus, with his force, was admitted within the walls of the Achradina, he proceeded to cut off the island of Ortygia from the mainland, leaving it connected only by a bridge.

Archimedes, in his study, was so engaged in some

mathematical researches, and so intent upon his diagrams, that he neither heard the tumultuous noise of the Romans nor perceived that the city was taken. A soldier suddenly entered the room with a drawn sword ready to slay him; and Archimedes begged him to wait a moment so that he might not leave his theorem imperfect; but the soldier, not regarding such details, struck him dead. Another version is that Archimedes, having been summoned by Marcellus, was carrying with him mathematical instruments, such as sun-dials, spheres and quadrants, when some soldiers met him, and, imagining that there was gold in the box, took away his life in order to obtain the valuables. In either event Marcellus was so concerned at his death that he bestowed great favors on his relations.

It was Marcellus who first introduced into Italy Grecian works of art; for when called home after taking Syracuse he carried with him, to embellish his triumphs, the most valuable of the statues and paintings taken in the destruction of the city. Before this time Rome was a city full of arms and bloody spoils, taken from barbarous nations, and, except for its temples, had little of culture or of elegance. Plutarch says: "Rome might earlier have been called the Temple of Frowning Mars."

Although the people liked to have their city adorned according to Greek taste, the graver citizens endorsed the style of Fabius Maximus, who afterwards, when he took Tarentum, added much money and furniture to the wealth of Rome, but left the statues and pictures, saying: "Let us leave the Tarentines their angry gods!" In reference to this subject, one of the criticisms made on the course of Marcellus was that he had led not only men, but the very gods in triumph.

Some say that his importing Greek models was the beginning of Roman luxury. For the Roman people, hitherto accustomed only to agriculture and war, from this time spent the greater part of the day frequenting their baths and disputing upon questions of art.

Lest his enemies should find another triumph a cause of envy, Marcellus, who had already enjoyed two triumphs, would accept only an ovation. In the ovation the general did not ride in a triumphal car, drawn by four horses, nor was he crowned with laurels, nor did the trumpet sound before him; but he walked in sandals attended by the music of many flutes, and wearing a crown of myrtle.

CHAPTER XVI

THIRD AND FOURTH PERIODS OF SECOND PUNIC WAR.—
BATTLE OF METAURUS.—CHARACTER AND CAREER OF
SCIPIO IN SPAIN AND AFRICA.—FINAL DEFEAT OF
HANNIBAL AT ZAMA AND END OF SECOND PUNIC WAR.

210 B.C.—201 B.C.

HANNIBAL was obliged to confine himself during the most of the Third Period of the Second Punic War, which lasted four years, to the region of Calabria. The people now began to complain of the cautious policy of Fabius, especially as Tarentum was still in Hannibal's hands, and the Romans were afraid of the large reinforcement which might be expected from Carthage.

Tarentum was a city triangular in shape and was washed by the sea on one side, the harbor on the other, and on the third side it was fortified by a wall. As usual, this stronghold, on account of its having an almost land-locked harbor, could not be taken by force; but it was finally regained through the perfidy of a young Bruttian officer who, on account of a romantic attachment for the sister of one of Fabius' soldiers, was induced to surrender the town upon the promise of great reward.

Marcellus, while trying to arrange with the Samnites and Lucanians for an attack upon Hannibal near Venusium, was entrapped and slain in an ambuscade. When Hannibal heard of the good fortune which had befallen him in Marcellus' death, he showed no feeling of exultation, but, hastening to the scene of conflict,

drew the signet ring from the dead general's finger, and afterwards had his body burned and the ashes placed in an urn surmounted by a coronet. Marcellus' family continued so great for almost two hundred years that, among the honors shown them, the Syracusans were obliged by law to offer sacrifices and wear garlands whenever any of the descendants visited the city. The last of the Marcelli was young Marcellus, the son of Octavia, sister of Augustus.

The year 207 found two Carthaginian armies marching against Rome; for Hasdrubal, having collected troops in Spain, had already crossed the Po and landed at Placentia. By this time there were in Rome only one hundred and thirty-seven thousand citizens capable of bearing arms; and accordingly slaves enough were enlisted to make up two consular armies, each consisting of one hundred and fifty thousand men. The consul Livius was sent to oppose Hasdrubal, and Nero to lead the army against Hannibal. Livius, not being strong enough to meet Hasdrubal, retreated and entrenched himself behind the Metaurus, near the maritime coast of Senigallia, while Nero, with his half of the troops at Venusia, was maneuvering to prevent Hannibal from co-operating with Hasdrubal in the North. Letters found in the possession of six Carthaginian couriers taken as prisoners revealed the fact to Nero that Hasdrubal had planned to advance along the Adriatic and meet Hannibal in Umbria, so as to march with him upon Rome by the Flaminian Way.

Nero hereupon confided to a picked body of seven thousand soldiers his purpose of joining Livius on the banks of the Metaurus, telling them that in the case of victory the glory would be theirs. Full of enthusi-

asm, the army raised altars to the gods along the way, and incense continually burned in order to propitiate divine favor. On the route the population crowded the roadside, supplying them with food and horses, and in a week's time they were within a short distance of Senigallia.

Nero and his soldiers, on arriving, entered the encampment of Livius, after dark, secretly, in order to join him without the knowledge of Hasdrubal, who, although only half a mile away and preparing to give battle, was unaware of Nero's arrival.

After one night's rest Nero urged an attack before Hannibal should discover that he had left Apulia, or Hasdrubal that he was in Umbria. But the next morning as Hasdrubal rode out to reconnoiter, he observed that his foe had grown larger in numbers, and noticed that there was an unaccountable stir in their camp; and he then remembered that he had heard the noise of trumpets that morning. Soon after, he saw Livius' legions, increased by Nero's troops, in battle array before his own camp. Accordingly he determined to take advantage of the darkness and retreat across the Metaurus.

Orders were given to pursue, and the Romans came up to the Carthaginian army on the banks of that river, where the tremendous battle which sealed the fate of the Carthaginians was fought. The slaughter attending it was so great that "the Metaurus ran red with the blood of the slain." Hasdrubal gave up his life while leading his men, and the whole camp became the spoil of the conquerors, three thousand Roman prisoners being found and set at liberty. This occurred in 207 B.C.

The news of Nero's march had filled all Rome with

joy, alternating with grave apprehensions, until, after ten days, ambiguous reports were put in circulation about a great victory for the Romans. These were soon confirmed by the arrival of two horsemen at Narnia; and so expectant were the people there that they could scarce be hindered from intercepting the reports before they had first been examined by the Senate in Rome. When they were publicly divulged, both men and women visited the temples to pour out thanks to the gods for their deliverance from such great peril, and a three days' thanksgiving was appointed.

The secret had been kept so well that Hannibal did not know that a battle had been fought until the grisly head of Hasdrubal was thrown into his camp. Then, gazing upon his brother's features in despair, he said: "In this, I recognize the doom of Carthage." In fact, with Hasdrubal's death, all fortune for Carthage disappeared, though for four years longer Hannibal kept his army among the mountains of southern Italy.

The victory of the Metaurus was celebrated by a triumphal procession, the first that had passed down the Via Sacra and ascended to the Capitol since 219 B.C., when Æmilius Paulus and Livius Salinator had brought home the captives from Illyria, and Marcellus had gained the last "Spolia Opima" the year before the Second Carthaginian War. Although Livius rode at the head of his troops in the royal procession, it was Nero by his side who received the homage of the people; yet the debt which Rome owed this general seems never otherwise to have been recognized; and the name "Nero" was not handed down in legend or song until after the Empire of Augustus, when the name "Nero" became a synonym for cruelty.

After the death of the two Scipios the Senate had decided to elect a proconsul to Spain at the great Comitia, or next general town meeting. When the day came no candidate appeared, and it was feared that there was no one who would venture out on so doubtful an enterprise; but finally, to the astonishment of everybody, Publius Cornelius Scipio, the son and nephew of the Scipios just slain in Spain, volunteered his acceptance of the position.

The history of the times makes mention of no man so cultured and at the same time so well balanced in every element of character which goes to make up greatness. Although only twenty-six years of age, young Scipio was unanimously elected. He had held no office but that of ædile, which he had occupied at the age of twenty-two; but he now silenced all objections made on account of his youth by saying: "The people's vote will make me old enough."

Scipio was in the prime of early manhood, beneficent, self-reliant, magnetic, and daring, yet humane and gentle and earnest in pursuit of his aims. Although he had been accused of some excesses in his mode of life, and of adopting a Greek régime, he had learned to subordinate pleasure to duty, and withal he was devout. He had fought successfully at the Battle of Cannæ and at Trebia, where he had bravely and with great foresight saved his father's life; and it was he who hindered the secession of the young nobles under Metellus, when they were about to leave the Republic.

Scipio immediately threw aside the cautious policy of the old generals, and determined to push ahead bravely at once. When, in 210, he arrived with his friend Lælius and his elder brother Lucius at Em-

poriæ in Spain, and found Hasdrubal and Mago, brothers of Hannibal, and Hasdrubal, son of Gisco, quarreling among themselves, he was confirmed in his decision.

Early in 209, crossing the Ebro, he entrenched himself before New Carthage, a peninsula connected to the mainland by a narrow isthmus, which he took by storm. A large treasure and immense stores were captured; but Scipio allowed no slaughter, his policy always being to treat the conquered with humanity and kindness; and when the soldiers brought a beautiful captive as a special gift to him, seeing her tears, he gave her back to her betrothed, a young Celtiberian chief.

In view of his general magnanimous conduct, the Spaniards commenced to regard Scipio as their deliverer from Carthaginian rule, and through ambassadors they asked him to become their king. But the young general sent back the reply that he was the representative of a people in whose ears the very name of king was a reproach.

Scipio grew more and more anxious to dim the renown of Nero and other generals who were then at the height of their glory, and concerning whose great actions he had just heard. Thus in the year 208 Scipio compelled Hasdrubal Barca to retreat, after defeating him near the Guadalquiver, and had expected to meet him again in the beginning of 207 B.C.; but the latter evaded him, and crossed the Alps to meet his death at Metaurus.

In 206 B.C. Scipio took the field, not only against the Carthaginian forces, but also in the face of the formidable cavalry of Masinissa, a powerful Numidian chief. The Romans obliged the enemy to find

refuge under the fortifications of Gades, when Masinissa treacherously deserted to their side; and soon, not only was Italy well-nigh rid of Hannibal's army, but Spain, with the exception of the town of Gades, was in subjection to Rome.

Scipio, however, had more far-reaching views. He was looking towards Africa, where it was certain the war must finally end. Accordingly he determined to visit Syphax, the ruler of a great tribe of western Numidia, the eastern portion of which was held by Masinissa.

Scipio, to show his confidence in Syphax, only equipped two ships for the voyage. At this very time it happened that Hasdrubal Gisco was also there on a visit to Syphax with the same object in view; but Scipio by his engaging address would have permanently enlisted Syphax in his cause had not Hasdrubal Gisco offered him his beautiful daughter, Sophonisba, in marriage.

Scipio, on his return to Spain, found plenty of revolts and mutinies, since the cities in the valley of the Guadalquivir, hearing a report of his death, had declared their independence. These difficulties, however, were soon settled, and the Carthaginians, observing Scipio's increasing influence, gave up all hope of regaining their foothold in Spain; while Gades, tired of the cruelty of Mago, surrendered to the Romans, Mago himself departing for Italy and leaving Scipio in full possession of the Spanish Peninsula.

After an absence of four years, from 210-206, Scipio set out for Rome, his friend Lælius and his brother Lucius having gone before to herald his coming. The young conqueror could receive no triumph, because he had not been through the proper routine

of office; but he was received with great honor by the Senate in the Temple of Bellona, and afterwards elected consul for 205 B.C. This project of carrying the war into Africa was violently opposed by Fabius and Fulvius and the rest of the old Senatorial party, as too hazardous an enterprise; and at the same time they recommended Sicily as wide enough for the scope of his genius. They also refused to supply him with men and money, and he was obliged to depend upon the nations outside Rome for the necessary outfit.

Fabius at this time showed the weak side of his otherwise strong character by trying to injure the reputation of Scipio. He not only made a stand against giving Africa to him, but charged him with visiting Syphax in Numidia without jurisdiction, and also with spending his time in pursuits not becoming a Roman soldier, such as frequenting the Greek schools and wearing the Greek dress; and he claimed that Scipio's men were corrupted by lax discipline and high living. Finally Fabius proposed that the young general should be deprived of his command.

A commission, with Cato at its head, which was soon sent out to investigate affairs, reported that they found Scipio guilty of no excesses, that his troops, instead of being undisciplined, were in the highest state of drill, and that everything connected with the army and stores was ready for the invasion of Africa; and Scipio told Cato that, as to the money they accused him of misspending, he preferred to show results rather than give an account of money spent in obtaining these results. The Senate, convinced, voted that he should retain his command, and at the same time ordered the Latin cities to furnish twice as large a contingent as formerly to furnish his supplies.

After a year spent in Italy as consul, Scipio set sail from Lilybæum to Africa in 204 B.C. Just as the sun rose the ships glided out of the harbor; and Scipio prayed to the gods, in the presence of all, that the undertaking might be blessed, and that the calamities Carthage had intended for them should fall on her own head.

When they landed in Africa, Fair Promontory greeted them as a propitious omen, and Masinissa joined them with a body of Numidian horse. After remaining all winter in the "Cornelian Camp," near Utica, which he had immediately besieged, Scipio on landing feigned attempts at negotiating with Syphax, while he was in reality studying the tactics of the enemy. When his plans were matured he made a night attack upon the camps of Syphax and Hasdrubal Gisco, the latter having been sent by terror-stricken Carthage to relieve the siege of Utica. Scipio had learned that the huts of the enemy were made of the most inflammable kind of timber, with reed-thatched roofs, and he now set fire to the whole combustible mass; so that when the unfortunate soldiers were roused from their slumbers they found themselves surrounded by fire on one side and the sword of the enemy on the other. Though Syphax and Hasdrubal Gisco escaped with their lives, their armies, which together formed the whole Carthaginian fighting-force, were annihilated.

The only hope the Carthaginians now had was in the proffered assistance of the Celtiberians. Syphax, influenced by his wife, Sophonisba, at last consented to join Hasdrubal Gisco in collecting a new army, which took the field in thirty days. Scipio, leaving the siege of Utica to his navy, and to a handful of land troops,

met the whole allied force arrayed against him; and although the Celtiberians made a brave resistance, when they were deserted by the rest of the army they were easily exterminated. The remaining soldiers of the allies fled, Hasdrubal taking refuge in Carthage and Syphax returning to his own kingdom, where he was pursued by Lælius and Masinissa and obliged to surrender his capital. These battles occurred in 203 B.C.

The fate of the charming Sophonisba, the daughter of Hasdrubal Gisco, and Syphax's wife, was most tragic. She had once been the betrothed of Masinissa, and when he, now an ally of Rome, arrived at Cirta, where the prisoners had been sent, the first person he saw was his former betrothed, now a charming young matron. Her great loveliness appealed to him anew, and lest Scipio should claim her, and then lead her in triumph with Syphax, he immediately married the beautiful captive. When Scipio censured him for daring to appropriate a Roman prisoner, Masinissa, fearing that he should be unable to protect his lovely bride, sent her a cup of poison, telling her that therein lay her only safety.

True to the love that was willing to sacrifice his greatest treasure rather than see her degraded, this heroic woman placed on record one of the saddest romances by drinking the poisonous draught, saying that she gladly accepted the gift from her husband. Scipio blamed Masinissa for this hasty action, but to atone for his sacrifice he presented him with many badges of honor—testimonials of his truth and bravery—and promised that at the end of the war he would make him king of the whole of Numidia, which he finally did.

Hannibal, by his wonderful genius, without supplies

from home, and, with no navy except such vessels as he could himself build and man, maintained his position in Italy for four years after the death of his brother Hasdrubal. Conscious that his name would live, and his renowned exploits be handed down, he erected several monuments at Licinium, upon which he engraved minute details of his various campaigns.

In 203 B.C., when the war party in Carthage heard of Hasdrubal Gisco's defeat, they arranged an armistice with Scipio, and ordered Hannibal and Mago to return with what force they could command. Mago died on the passage, and Hannibal, after sixteen years of semi-successful warfare in the enemy's country, and an absence from home of forty years, sadly set sail for Africa. History is of the opinion that had he been sustained by his home government he would have made a final conquest of Italy.

The joy in Rome when the news came that Hannibal had left Italy was tumultuous. A general thanksgiving-day was set apart and incense burned on all the altars in Rome. Though Fabius died soon after, he was then alive, and, notwithstanding the old consul had clung to his primitive ideas with tenacity, and his jealousy of young Scipio had prevented him from seeing that the time had come for more far-reaching measures, the Romans did not forget to honor him anew for his share in their deliverance.

Hannibal's advance to Zama, about eighty miles southwest of Carthage, aroused the war party; and Scipio saw that the late truce could not hold out much longer; therefore, early in the year 202 B.C., having received information to that effect from some Carthaginian spies, he left his intrenchments at Tunis and marched towards Hannibal's encampment.

There remained to Hannibal but a handful of his veterans, while his raw recruits were unreliable; and Masinissa had deserted to the Romans with the Numidian force which had been his mainstay in Italy. Accordingly, knowing that he had to meet a far superior army, led by an aspiring general, he arranged an interview with Scipio, hoping that matters might be adjusted. After the conference Hannibal and Scipio separated with heightened respect and regard for each other, but it was decided that the outcome of the war must be a battle led by these two great men, who had never met as generals of opposing forces.

At dawn Hannibal marshaled his army in three lines, the veterans who had fought in Italy being in the rear. Both wings were strengthened by cavalry and the whole line of battle was protected by a troop of eighty elephants. Scipio's army, also drawn up in three lines, was superior in number to Hannibal's; but, to counteract the force of the elephants, Scipio arranged the infantry not criss-cross, according to custom, but behind each other, so as to leave open lanes as a path for the enemy's elephants as well as for his own men.

The battle began by an attack of these huge animals on the Roman light troops, who, about to be crushed by their weight, fled down the open lanes; and when the elephants came within range of the ranks the men on each side goaded them with their javelins so that some of them plunged straight through the empty spaces. Others rushed towards the Carthaginian flank, throwing their own cavalry into disorder, and consequently they were soon driven off the field by Lælius and Masinissa.

Seeing that the auxiliaries were shirking duty, Han-

nibal was obliged to bring up his veterans. Scipio then rallied all his scattered men, and made a phalanx out of his second and third lines, while Lælius and Masinissa, returning from the cavalry pursuit, charged the Carthaginians in the rear. A perfect Waterloo rout followed. The loss on the Roman side was only one thousand, against twenty thousand on the side of the Carthaginians, besides a large number of prisoners. The Battle of Zama is reckoned as one of the few which have decided the fate of the world.

It is not thought that Hannibal intended to close the contest, since no doubt he could have held out considerably longer; but he was tired of fighting and longed to instill new life into the Carthaginian government, intending to reopen hostilities later.

The terms agreed upon by Scipio were, that in exchange for peace and independence, Carthage must give up all prisoners and deserters in her territories, all ships of war except ten triremes, and all elephants; and that the Carthaginians must not make war outside, nor even in Africa, without the consent of the Romans. They were also to feed the Roman army for three months and pay all the Roman soldiers their wages until recalled. They were to reinstate Masinissa in his hereditary kingdom, and henceforth pay an annual war indemnity of two hundred talents for fifty years (amounting to two hundred and thirty-five thousand, nine hundred and fifty dollars), besides the immediate payment of eleven million seven hundred and ninety-seven thousand five hundred dollars.

When at the General Assembly one of the leaders rose and spoke against the agreement, and in opposition to a cessation of hostilities, Hannibal, fearing that the terms would not be accepted, pulled the speaker

from the tribune. But then, seeing that this caused general excitement, he excused his conduct by saying that his having for forty years fought for his country in foreign lands ought to be some little excuse for having forgotten Carthaginian manners. The Carthaginians themselves, however, were soon persuaded of the fruitlessness of a prolonged resistance.

The envoys sent to Rome by Scipio were received in the Temple of Bellona with the highest honors, and when the decision was left to the people, although even these hard conditions of peace were thought favorable to Carthage, all the tribes voted that Scipio confirm the treaty.

Then "the Fetials were ordered to be sent to Africa with the Italian flints with which to strike the sacred fire, together with the *Holy Herb* from the Capitol," so that nothing might be wanting in the sacrifices to render the treaty valid and binding. This was in 201 B.C., seventeen years after Hannibal had first left New Carthage for Italy. Then Scipio set sail for Rome.

No triumphal procession equal in splendor had ever passed up to the Capitol. The vast booty which Scipio brought in silver lifted the national debt, besides relieving the soldiers from future need. King Syphax and a crowd of Carthaginian officers and African chiefs were in this procession. The people, in their adoration over his successes, saluted Scipio by the surname Africanus; and thus he has come down to us.

CHAPTER XVII

GOVERNMENT OF ROME AFTER TIME OF PUNIC WARS.—
THE LITERATURE, LANGUAGE, ART AND ARCHITECTURE
OF THE TIME.

201 B.C.—199 B.C.

THE Constitution of Rome, which had grown up by slow degrees out of the struggle between the Patricians and Plebeians, was complete at the end of the Second Punic War. As the Patrician families lost their prestige, the old Assembly of the Curies was practically abolished. The chief officers of the State were the same as agreed upon after the Licinian Laws, but, with few notable exceptions, every Roman who attained the highest office was obliged to ascend by means of a regular scale of honors.

The first office, the quæstorship, could be gained at twenty-seven years; the ædileship at thirty-six, the prætorship at thirty-nine, and the consulship at forty-two. For the government of the two provinces, Sicily and Sardinia, two new prætors had been created, and two more when Spain was constituted as a double province, so that the whole number amounted to six. In the absence of the consul, the prætors presided in the Senate, and sometimes commanded reserve troops in the field; but they were only allowed six lictors while the consuls still had twelve. To obtain the highest Roman offices the suffrage of the people was nominally necessary; but though ostensibly, these offices were open to all, the choice of curule ædile was indirectly

limited to those who were rich enough to buy favor; and as this was first in the ascending scale, none but the wealthy could reach the consulship.

In the army, every citizen between the ages of seventeen and forty-five who owned property to the amount of four thousand pounds of copper was placed on a military roll. From this list four legions were enrolled every year, and, when needed, additional levies were made. Each legion had six tribunes and six centurions, chosen every year.

Though the chief officers in State and army fluctuated, there was a force behind, which never changed; this was the Senate. Cineas did not exaggerate its standing when he called it an "assembly of kings"; for the world has never since seen so remarkable a body as the Roman Senate. Its dignity only equalled its power; since, although it numbered but three hundred members, all acts of the Roman Republic were executed in the name of the Senate and People, just as if the Senate were half the State. Once a Senator, was to be a Senator to the end, unless impeached, but each man must secure the office for himself by ability, since it was not hereditary.

The censors chose the Senators, but, according to precedent, they only selected those who had held the quæstorship; while the holding of property was a second qualification, and age a third limitation.

In respect to controlling foreign affairs, the power of the Senate was absolute, except that the declaring of war and concluding treaties of peace were decided by the vote of the people. The Senate designated what part of her troops should be furnished from her own citizens and what portion by the allies. They also assigned to the consuls and prætors their respective

provinces, and appointed generals. The Senate regulated religious matters and could resolve themselves into a high court of justice for the trial of unusual offenses; while the censors, under the direction of the Senate, made up a kind of Ways and Means Committee.

All laws had to be referred for confirmation, either to the *Comitia Tributa*, or *Centuriate Assembly*—if the mover were a tribune to the former, if a consul, *prætor* or dictator to the latter—since these bodies were independent of each other. In conferring extraordinary commands, such as that of Scipio in Spain, the *Tributa* was always consulted, not the *Comitia Centuriata*: but in later years the power of the Senate increased and that of the tribunes diminished. The Senate, under the leadership of Fabius the *Cunctator* even set aside the election to the consulship, a thing which never happened before nor after. Young Scipio, in his turn, became absolute, and at the close of the war might have made himself dictator.

Sicily was the only one of the five provinces—Sardinia, Sicily, the Gallic coast of Umbria (*Ariminium*), Hither and Further Spain—which had been incorporated as a part of the Public Lands of Rome.

The allied communities of Italy were only taxed when required to equip soldiers for war; but every five years the collection of taxes in the provinces was bid off at auction by companies whose members were called "*Publicani*"; and since the more the tax-collector could get from the provincials, the better off he was, these publicans were a grasping element in early Roman history.

The age from the Samnite War to the close of the Second Punic War was called by the Romans the

Golden Age of the Republic. The habits of their simple lives are exemplified in such characters as Cincinnatus and Dentatus, and the devotion of the matrons by such women as Lucretia, Volumnia and Cornelia, the Mother of the Gracchi, the first example of divorce not occurring until the year 231 B.C.

Slavery was the hardest question to be solved in the ethics of ancient Roman society. Since debtors could no longer be reduced to this stage, it was the conquered only who made up the class of slaves. These could not contract a legal marriage, and had no power over their children, could hold no property, and in general had no rights, and for crimes committed they were only responsible to their masters. But trade was of necessity carried on by them, since a Roman citizen felt above engaging in any business outside of agriculture.

It has been well said that the most important phase of religion is the effect it has on men's lives. From this standpoint, we must feel that, though they had many gods, true religion permeated the Roman peasant's life; for it taught him that there was something in the universe more exalted and far-reaching than himself, and that there was a deity who comprehended all his minutest actions.

At the close of the Second Punic War the different Pelasgian, Oscan and Sabine elements of speech had been united into an Italian language. The "Hymn of the Fratres Auales" is considered the oldest extant specimen of the Latin tongue. This was the name of a kind of priesthood, consisting of twelve men of distinction, whose office was to go round in the spring offering public sacrifices in behalf of the fertility of the fields.

The final capitulation of Tarentum marks an unmis-

takable advance in the culture of the day. A Greek slave, Andronicus, who, when freed, took the name of his master, Marcus Livius Salinator, and was ever after called Livius Andronicus, was employed at first in his master's family to teach Greek. Afterwards he introduced the regular drama into the Greek theater, which soon superseded the games and chariot-races. His plays were read in the time of Cicero, and others, such as his Latin translation of the *Odyssey*, were used as text-books in the schools which Horace attended.

Cnæus Nævius, the successor of Andronicus, was among the earliest of Roman satirists and comic bards, as well as the oldest of national poets. He also gave the greatest impulse to comedy. He told the story of Æneas' settlement in Latium, which became a national epic. The Metelli had Nævius cast into prison because he assailed their family, and would only release him when he revoked his former sentiments in verse.

Quintus Ennius is looked upon as the father of Roman literature. He leaned to mysticism, claiming a descent from the gods, and asseverating that Homer's soul was a part of his spiritual being. A Calabrian by birth, and a Greek by education, when he mastered the Latin tongue he introduced the Greek system of meter into Latin versification. At the age of thirty-five, the same year that Nævius died, Ennius was brought to Rome by Cato, and, after this, he lived in a small house on the Aventine, teaching Greek to the young nobles, Greek at that time being a part of every high-born Roman's education. Ennius gave a national tone to all his works, and gained much renown by writing a history of Rome from its foundation up to his own time, in verse. Virgil is said to have imitated this work in his *Æneid*. Ennius died in distress and penury

in 168 B.C., at the age of seventy, the year before the Battle of Pydna.

During the time of Plautus literature became the expression of the aristocratic governing class. Titus Maccius Plautus was a contemporary of Nævius, and is now recognized as one of the greatest comic and dramatic writers of the world. He was born near the close of the First Punic War, and did not begin to write until he lost all his money, afterwards composing three plays while turning the crank of a baker's hand-mill. Nævius, Plautus, Ennius, and later Cato were the contending forces which determined the character of advanced Roman literature. Caius Lucilius came a little after these, and was the youngest to be admitted into what was called the "Scipionic Circle." He is considered the real founder of Roman satire, the fragments of his work testifying that his mode of thought was like that of Horace and Juvenal. At this time there was a great reaction against rhetorical flourish, similar to that which characterizes the present educational epoch.

The work of Plautus was carried on by Cæcilius, that of Ennius by his nephew, Marcus Pacuvius, who made the conqueror of Macedon the hero of his play called "Paulus." Pacuvius was born two years before Hannibal crossed the Alps, and lived to be ninety years old. Lucius Attius began to bring forth plays the year that Pacuvius died. His most conspicuous play was founded on the delivery of the Romans from the Tarquins. Lucius Afranius was another comic poet, who wrote on Roman subjects.

Publius Terentius Afer, called Terence, was the slave of a Roman, Publius Terentius Lucanus, whose name he took when adopted by his master. Through

his first play, written at the age of twenty, he attracted the attention of Scipio Æmilianus and Lælius, who were then the pupils of Polybius. Afer's "*Adelphi*" was used for a recitation at the funeral of Æmilius Paulus. Afer died at the age of thirty-five.

The Greek historical works of Cincius Alimentus began at the time of the Punic Wars, while the chronicles of Fabius Pictor did not commence until 216 B.C., after the Battle of Cannæ. Cincius was for a while a prisoner of Hannibal, and his facts, coming thus directly from the Carthaginian camp, are said to be more reliable than the historical account of Pictor. Greek was the language used in their writings.

Scripture and painting began to be cultivated in the third century, though the practice of supplying Greek works of art had begun years before in the conquest of Etruria, one Volscian city alone supplying two thousand statues as decoration for public buildings and villas at Rome.

Up to this time Rome had used only copper money, a pound weight stamped with the effigy of a ship's prow being the original "*as*" or "*libra*," though this was afterwards reduced to nearly one-sixth of its bulk. Later, coins were made of gold and silver, most beautiful designs for which were taken from the coinage of her conquered cities.

For a long time the useful arts were so little cultivated that when Lucius Papirus Cursor, in 293 B.C., set up a sun-dial, no one was scientific enough to arrange it for use; and a water-clock introduced about 160 B.C. had only a little more machinery than an hour-glass.

Tuscan architecture later took the place in Italy of the early Doric, though Rome could never vie with

Greek models; but as a mighty builder and engineer she stands first, as is seen in such roads as the Æmilian, the Flaminian and the Appian Ways. The arch which was the great secret of strength in Italy's amphitheaters, and was seen in every project of building, such as the Cloaca Maxima, was an Etruscan discovery introduced by the Tarquins.

CHAPTER XVIII

FIRST AND SECOND MACEDONIAN WARS.—PHILIP OF MACEDON.—WAR WITH ANTIOCHUS, KING OF SYRIA.—ANTIOCHUS DEFEATED.—ACCOUNT OF HANNIBAL'S DEATH.—BEGINNING OF CATO'S CAREER.—ASIATIC LUXURY BROUGHT IN.—OTHER FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC INSURRECTIONS QUELLED.

200 B.C.—183 B.C.

EVER after Philip I. of Macedon united with Hannibal, Rome looked upon the East as her prey. At the death of Alexander the Great, in 323 B.C., the crown had been seized by his generals and viceroys, and in 275 B.C., when the crestfallen Pyrrhus came back from Italy he found Macedon under the sovereignty of Antigonus Gonatus, the son of Demetrius I., who in turn willed it to his son, Demetrius II. When the latter died, in 229 B.C., he left his son Philip, a child of eight years, in the care of his cousin Antigonus Doson. In 220 B.C., notwithstanding that Antigonus had children of his own, Philip, then a youth of seventeen, ascended the throne, by the will of the latter, as Philip V., and was hailed by Greece as her guardian and defender. At this time the glory remaining to Greece belonged to the descendants of the "long-haired Achæans" who fought against Troy. In the year 280 B.C., four towns had joined for mutual defense, under the name of the Achæan League, and Aratus, as general-in-chief, determined to unite all Peloponnesus in it.

The young Philip V. showed great energy in com-

ing to the aid of the League against the Ætolians, a band of freebooters who had ravaged Arcadia and Argolis at will, and lived by plunder in the mountain districts, their chiefs inhabiting the splendid city of Thermon.

In 217 B.C. Philip had just expelled the Ætolians from the Peloponnesus and having carried off their treasures to Therman, was in Argolis watching the Nemean games when he received the news of the Battle of Trasimene. His ambitious soul was immediately kindled with desires to take part in the great contest then going on in Italy; and when he heard of the victory of Cannæ he sent off ambassadors to offer terms of alliance with Hannibal. But it was not until 215 B.C. that he succeeded in making the treaty according to which, in case of victory, Illyria and the Roman possessions in the Adriatic should be his share.

The object of the Romans now was to keep Philip from assisting Hannibal in Italy; and the first Macedonian War, begun in 200 B.C., consisted simply in a defensive course by the Romans and a few intrigues on the part of Philip. The Ætolians and the Lacedæmonians engaged with the Romans while the Achæans supported Philip, their protector. After peace was made, however, Philip showed his continued hostile feeling for Rome by sending four thousand men, commanded by the noblemen of his court, to assist in maintaining the war in Africa against Scipio. Many of these were taken prisoners at the Battle of Zama, and, when Philip had the effrontery to ask for their liberation the Senate, understanding it as a challenge, replied that "if the King of Macedon wished for war, the Romans were ready." Subsequent to this

there were many internal troubles in Greece, in which Philip displayed his arrogance; and finally, tired of his oppression, the Athenians appealed to Rome, who sent envoys to remonstrate with Philip; and these received the reply that "if the Romans wanted war, the King of Macedon was ready."

The Senate was disinclined to enter into this new contest, since already the best and strongest elements of each family had been used up in bearing arms against Carthage; but finally, after Publius Sulpicius Galba had been sent out and had failed, Titus Quintus Flaminius proved the real hero of the Second Macedonian War.

Although the Achæan League had been in alliance with Philip, under the advice of Philopœman, called the "Last of the Greeks," it now joined the Romans, and this enabled Flaminius to declare himself as the guardian of the liberties of Greece. At a council held at the Pass of Thermopylæ the Romans demanded that Philip should grant freedom to the Greek cities. Philip had already refused these hard terms, and would not even now agree to withdraw from Demetrius, Chalcis and Corinth, which together were called the "Fetters of Greece," and preparations were made which together resulted in the Battle of Cynoscephalæ, 197 B.C. Philip might have come off victorious here had he managed his unwieldly phalanx properly; as it was, he was driven from the field by Flaminius with a loss of eight thousand killed and five thousand prisoners.

The following year Philip was obliged to leave Greece altogether, giving up his fleet and paying two thousand talents for war expenses. The Ætolians now said that the Romans would clasp the "Fetters of

Greece" more firmly than Philip had done. But, as if to disprove these aspersions, in the following summer, at the Isthmian games, a crier proclaimed that Flaminius and the Roman Senate, having vanquished Philip, now restored to the Greeks their lands, their laws and their liberty. Then the astonished people, having demanded that the good news be repeated, raised a shout which was heard from Corinth to the sea; and at the end of the games the crowd pressed around Flaminius, eager "to touch his hand and wreath his head with garlands."

Before Flaminius left Greece in the spring of 194 B.C., two years after, he told the Greek allies in a parting speech that he would prove to them by withdrawing the Roman garrison from all their cities, even the "Fetters of Greece," that the freedom granted their nation was no illusion.

On Flaminius' departure the Achæans redeemed and sent with him twelve hundred Roman slaves that they might attend his triumph. Flaminius, who had been absent four years, and almost a despotic ruler in Greece for three years, was met by the Senate as he was marching from Brindisi, and escorted in a festal procession to Rome, where he was given as great a three days' triumph as any other hero had hitherto enjoyed.

The old oligarchy in Carthage, vindictive because Hannibal had succeeded in putting them down, now sent word to Rome that the latter was plotting with Antiochus of Syria, and the Senate, in spite of the entreaties of Scipio, who was true to his friendship for Hannibal, sent back envoys arraigning the great general. The fallen hero fled from Africa, and, having met Antiochus at Ephesus, arranged with him for an

invasion of Italy. But Antiochus rashly disregarded Hannibal's advice, and, without proper preparation, entered Greece, where he was in 191 B.C. obliged to submit to the consul, Glabrio, the latter having been sent over by the Romans to deliver Greece from Syrian oppression.

In order to counteract Philip's influence in upper Greece, Flaminius concluded an armistice with the Ætolians, and compelled the Ælians and Messenians to join the Achæan League so that the Péloponnesus might be combined in one federate state. The Grecian patriots looked sadly on, and Philopœman predicted the tragic end of his country's freedom, since he saw that, in spite of the profession of friendship on the part of the Romans, they intended soon to absorb all Greece. This was indeed so, for as early as 189 B.C. the Ætolians were obliged to acknowledge Roman supremacy and pay an indemnity of five hundred talents, and the Island of Zacynthus, to which the Achæans laid claim, was also soon attached to Rome.

Hannibal had told Antiochus that the Roman army would soon land on Asiatic shores; and according to his prediction they crossed over and marched southward into Lydia, where in 190 B.C. the Battle of Magnesia was fought, resulting in the defeat of Antiochus, by Lucius Cornelius Scipio, brother of Africanus. This closed up the war with much glory, and with a loss of only four thousand men slain, against fifty-three thousand of the enemy. All of Asia west of the Taurus Mountains was ceded by Antiochus to the Romans, with all of his ships and elephants and an indemnity of fifteen thousand talents, besides the surrender of all the Grecian prisoners and the giving up of Hannibal. The demand for the latter's life had

been pending for more than a quarter of a century, ever since the time before the beginning of the Second Punic War, when the Romans required it as the price of peace.

Hannibal, who lost heart when the Syrian army was defeated at Magnesia, at last, after wandering through many countries, put himself under the protection of Prusias, King of Bithynia. The great Carthaginian for a time felt quite safe here, since an oracle had said: "Libyssa earth shall hide the bones of Hannibal," and he considered that this meant that he should die in Carthage and be buried in Libya. In Bithynia, however, there was a small sandy village called Libyssa, where Hannibal went to live. Knowing that the Romans demanded his surrender, and beginning after a time to distrust the timid character of Prusias, he caused several subterranean passages to be dug under his house. But when Flaminius ordered him to be given up he found these secret exits surrounded by the king's guard.

Some say that he then wound his cloak around his neck and ordered his servants to strangle him; others, that like Themistocles and Midas, he drank bull's blood; but Livy declares that he had poison concealed in a ring, and, mixing it in a cup, he drank the draught, saying: "Let us deliver the Romans from their cares and anxieties, since they are tired of waiting for the death of a poor hated old man." Hannibal died in 183 B.C., at the age of sixty-four, faithful to his vow of eternal enmity to Rome.

In this both tragic and pusillanimous exit Hannibal did not show that undaunted pride and spirit which he exhibited in the East, after the Battle of Zama, when, in the conversation with Scipio concerning great com-

manders, he said that Alexander was the greatest general the world had ever seen, that Pyrrhus was second and himself third. At that time Scipio responded by saying: "In what rank would you have placed yourself if I had not conquered you?" "Oh! Scipio!" he replied, "then I should not have been third, but first."

After a splendid triumph granted to Lucius Cornelius Scipio, in which the enormous booty he had taken in the Battle of Magnesia was exhibited, the name of Asiaticus was awarded him.

The wealth procured by the victories in Asia gave rise to a sentiment in favor of all foreign wars; and greed for conquest became so inordinate that all kinds of practices were resorted to for the purpose of inveigling independent nations to engage in strife, which could only be settled by appealing to Rome. Some writer has said that the Great Scipio opened the way to empire, while his brother paved the road to luxury; and it is thought that the immense wealth accumulated by the Roman nobles in these Syrian and Macedonian wars enervated the people by fostering luxurious tastes, and thus hastened the downfall of Rome. It was the high Asiatic officers who introduced the banquet, with all its effeminate accessories, where the professional chef became the most indispensable member of the household. Before this there had been but one public holiday and a single circus, although as far back as the beginning of the First Punic War the fights of gladiators were introduced at funerals, because it was thought that the spirits of the departed loved blood.

Soon, with the disappearance of simplicity in Roman life and character, an oligarchy arose composed of the

wealthy and of the Senatorial class; and in a short time only those who could boast of distinguished ancestry and claim a large number of images were considered sufficiently noble to hold office. Thus the Senate itself became almost a hereditary body. All this indicated that a monarchical government was not many centuries distant.

Marcus Porcius Cato the Elder, who was such a factor in Roman politics for several decades, was about the same age as the great Scipio. He was born in the town of Tusculum in the year 234 B.C.; and after he grew up lived on the estate his father had left in the Sabine country, near the humble dwelling which Curius Dentatus had occupied after his triumph. The tradition of Dentatus' simplicity of life and probity so influenced Cato's growing mind that he delighted in sharing the meager fare of his slaves while working in the field with them as the man whom he had taken for his model had done. In personal appearance Cato was like the crudest rustic. He had keen gray eyes, red hair, and an athletic sinewy frame, set off by the coarsest features, and his uncouth appearance was enhanced by his always wearing the plainest garments. Cato had served in the army of Fabius, when a boy eighteen years old, and later his fame as an orator gained for him the acquaintance of Lucius Valerius Flaccus, who persuaded him to enter public life in Rome. These two men continued for many years as colleagues in almost every office.

Cato was quaestor under the Great Scipio in Hannibal's wars, and afterwards went to Sicily with him. Later he was sent to Spain, where he shared all the privations of his soldiers and made his army self-supporting. He boasted that he took more cities in

Spain than the number of days he spent there; and there are said to have been four hundred of these towns. Though he reserved nothing for himself, he gave each of his soldiers a pound's weight of silver, besides the booty taken, saying that it was better for many men to have enough silver than for a few to have plenty of gold. Although Cato made himself very unpopular with the Spaniards by the taxes and imposts he levied upon their land, and other hard measures introduced, no one then criticised his arbitrary acts, since they were in accordance with the custom of the times, the Senate even granting him a triumph of three days in honor of his victories.

After the Battle of Emporiæ in 196 B.C. all of Spain north of the Ebro acknowledged Roman supremacy; and besides this, during a space of a little over eleven years, between 200 B.C. and 189 B.C., Rome had established a protectorate throughout the Eastern Mediterranean. The discord engendered by Cato in Spain never ceased until 179 B.C., when Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, who had been sent to that country, ruled with such moderation that he was able to make a most advantageous treaty with them—called the “Pacification of the Gracchi.” This Tiberius Gracchus was the father of the famous Gracchi.

CHAPTER XIX

THE FALL OF SCIPIO.—CATO'S ANTAGONISM.—REPEAL OF
THE OPIAN LAW.—THIRD MACEDONIAN WAR.—
LUCIUS ÆMILIUS PAULUS, CONQUEROR OF MACEDON.

180 B.C.—150 B.C.

WHEN Scipio, then only thirty-five years old, returned to Rome after conquering Hannibal, he was adored by the people, and might have gained complete ascendancy over the Senatorial party, since everybody acknowledged him to be the man best fitted to correct the abuses which had come about through the late wars, and they would have been glad to make him dictator for life. But he scorned political preferment and thrust aside all the honors proffered him with supercilious contempt; and as he advanced in years he more and more found enjoyment in study and in his own mental resources, so that he was often heard to say: "A man is never so little alone as when alone."

Cato and Scipio represent the two forces that were at this time working in society. The former claimed that all evils were due to the introduction of Greek customs; but it soon appeared that the most noble of Rome's sons were those who cultivated Greek letters, and that it was the influences within, rather than Greek agencies, which were corrupting the people.

Aspersions were first cast upon the Great Scipio's character when investigations were instituted with reference to the use of funds by Lucius Scipio in his Asiatic campaign. Africanus tore up the ledgers which

were produced as evidence to condemn his brother, saying that it was not right to make a man account for his petty personal expenses, who had enriched the treasury to the extent of millions of dollars. Nevertheless this was the occasion of the fall of the Great Scipio.

On the day of the anniversary of the Battle of Zama, Scipio appeared in the Forum crowned with laurel and attended by a magnificent following. He said: "On this day I conquered your indomitable foe, Hannibal; I now advance to the Capitol to offer up incense to our paternal gods; follow me, fellow-citizens! I pray that you may never lack a leader who will have your interests at heart!" The crowd then followed him to the Capitol with loud applause, and the affection of all went out to him who had vanquished their mortal enemy.

This, however, was the end of Scipio's glory. On the day of the prosecution of Lucius Scipio, brought on at Cato's instigation, Scipio himself did not appear; for, although he was blameless himself, he had endorsed the cause of his brother, who, in respect to affairs in the East, was not above suspicion. There would no doubt have been civil dissensions at this time, such as afterwards hastened the overthrow of the Republic, had not Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, who afterwards entered upon his distinguished career in Spain, averted the blow by declaring that he had always been the enemy of the Scipios, yet he had the interests of the nation too much at heart to permit, under the circumstances, the arrest of Asiaticus.

When Scipio saw that his name no longer held the people, he retired to his villa at Liternum, and some years after, when he perceived his end approaching,

requested that he might be buried there, saying: "Oh! thou ungrateful Rome! thou shalt not have my ashes as a memorial." He was only fifty-three years old when he died, in 183 B.C., the very same year Hannibal took his life.

Three statues, one of himself, one of his brother, and one of the poet Ennius, crowned a monument erected by the Younger Africanus, who inherited his name and perpetuated his illustrious deeds. Scipio was too haughty to cater to the public and make himself all-powerful as he might have done; and accordingly his services for which posterity delight to honor him were at the time overlooked. Thus the fate of all Rome's benefactors was fallen greatness: for the aspersion of a rival proved the death-blow to every great hero of that great State.

After Scipio's death the power passed into the hands of the old Senatorial party, and Cato, although not of that faction, reached the pinnacle of his greatness in the reaction which followed. He condemned the abuses of the age, and the people, regarding that as a favor to them, gave him their support in gaining the consulship.

During Cato's term of office there was a great tumult when he opposed the measure to repeal the Oppian Law. On a certain day all the women poured into the streets leading to the Forum, soliciting votes in their own behalf; for, though they had been willing at the time of the Punic Wars to divest themselves of costly garments and jewels, and to dispense with their carriages, the days were past when the shadow of the defeat at Cannæ had bowed down all hearts with fear for the downfall of the State. Foreign conquests had of late brought such wealth into the city that they

felt it would be more becoming to adorn themselves in seemly apparel than to have it all squandered by their husbands in enervating luxuries.

Cato arose and made a speech in opposition to the petition of the women, in which he said that the men ought to assert their authority over their wives, whose behavior was so shocking that he had felt an emotion of shame when he was coming through the throng of women in the Forum. It was a deplorable fact, he said, that they were no longer willing to sit attentively and listen to the eloquence of their husbands and brothers, but were so degenerate as to actually solicit votes of the consuls and magistrates in favor of themselves. He urged the men to set bounds to the waste and extravagance which would soon follow if the old Oppian Law, which had been made to limit their expenses, were abolished.

Lucius Valerius sarcastically called to Cato's mind, when he had finished, certain things which he had written earlier in one of his books, in praise of the old Sabine wives—how heartily the matrons had been greeted in the Forum at the time they stopped the historic fight which would have overturned the early foundations of the sturdy State; Valerius referred also to the army of women who went forth to meet the great Coriolanus; and he asked who it was who saved Rome if it were not the Roman matrons when they brought their jewels and threw them into the balance to satisfy the unrelenting Gauls. He declared that the Oppian Law served well in the sore need of the nation, but in the present time of plenty the wives and daughters ought to support the dignity of their husbands and fathers by elegant dress and ornaments suitable to their station.

After days of this kind of controversy, in which the women proved inflexible, even Cato had to give way, and the edict passed, making the women free from the sterner restrictions of the obnoxious Oppian Law. Cato, however, remained firm as ever in most of his opinions; though he exhibited considerable vigor in many practical directions during his consulship, such as repairing aqueducts and putting drainage in good condition, besides encouraging just competition in tax-collecting. He was a great farmer, and notwithstanding his books on agriculture were a curious medley, they showed a good deal of sound common sense. Although Senators were forbidden to engage in trade, Cato was known to evade the law, by lending his money to commercial corporations. He was so arbitrary in character that he wished always to rule, even arrogating the privilege of governing the nursery and kitchen. Withal he was stanch and loyal to the State, and with him the old type of the resolute Roman passed away.

Philip of Macedon died in 179, after putting to death his eldest son, Demetrius, on account of false accusations made against him by his brother, Perseus. In contrast to Demetrius, who was much beloved by his father, and a great favorite of the Romans, Perseus had in his feeble character two glaring faults, avarice and timidity. By his incapacity and depravity he soon precipitated a war, notwithstanding the Romans were tired of strife, and knew that the coffers of Macedon were full. After some unsuccessful fighting, the Romans sent out Æmilius Paulus, son of the great general of that name, who died at Cannæ. He was already sixty years old, and was accompanied by his two sons and young Nasica, son of Scipio Nasica,

the "best man." Just at this time an eclipse of the moon foretold to the terrified Macedonians the fall of the monarchy, which weakened their courage; while the Romans explained the phenomenon by natural causes and were not alarmed.

The Battle of Pydna in 168 B.C., like that of Cynoscephalæ, was brought on by accident. A Roman horse broke loose, and an attempt by a few soldiers to rescue the animal from drowning in a little stream called out the pickets of the enemy; and from this the armies were soon marshaled in line of battle. The Roman legions, in falling back at the first attack, drew the enemy to the base of the hill, where the ground was so uneven that the hitherto irresistible phalanx broke up, and the heavy infantry was soon cut to pieces, so that twenty thousand fell and eleven thousand were made prisoners, the whole Macedonian army being wiped out.

Perseus escaped to his capital, Pella; and after reaching Amphipolis loaded his ships and, taking his children, fled to Samothrace. Plutarch says that had Perseus been the agent of the Romans he could not have acted more in their interests. His Cretan guards soon abandoned him and carried off his ships, loaded with the wealth for which he had sacrificed his Empire; for when the Romans had required a thousand pieces of silver to cement an alliance, he had refused it; and now it was not until his children were given up, his wife captured, and he himself deserted by everybody, that he surrendered.

Æmilius met Perseus with tears in his eyes, and with the greatest compassion for a distinguished man fallen through the displeasure of the gods; but the latter, fearing death, cringed in the most contemptible

manner, and by abject entreaties soon made Paulus forget his pity in indignation. He then said to him: "Why dost thou detract from my achievements by showing thyself a mean adversary, unfit to cope with the Romans, and make it appear by thy behavior that Fortune is only just in her frowns."

Æmilius Paulus, with his son Scipio the Younger, now proceeded to Greece, where he reformed their civil government and assisted the people from his inexhaustible stores. At Delphi he had his own statue placed on a square pedestal of white marble, which was waiting in readiness for the golden figure of Perseus, saying that it was only just for the conquered to give place to the conqueror. To some, expressing their admiration of his ability in conducting sumptuous entertainments, he replied that it required as much genius to order a banquet as it did to draw up an army, since the one must be made as agreeable to the company as the other formidable to the enemy.

Paulus put all the immense treasures taken from the royal palaces at Macedon into the public treasury, reserving only the king's library for his sons, who were men of letters, and giving a silver cup of five pounds weight to his son-in-law, Ælius Tubero, one of sixteen relatives of the Æmilii. This piece of plate, acquired by honor and virtue, is said to have been the first in the family of the Ælians.

There was great joy in Rome when the news of the victorious Battle of Pydna arrived. The Senate soon proceeded to legislate concerning the land and conquered cities of Macedonia, declaring them free, as they had done in Greece, and ordering that they should be governed by their own laws, after paying to the Romans an indemnity of a hundred talents.

This magnanimity, however, was only fictitious; for each of the four districts, having Amphipolis, Thessalonica, Pella and Pellagonia for their capitals, respectively, was to be a republic, set apart by itself, and its inhabitants forbidden to intermarry or to support commercial relations with the others; and although the tribute was only half of what the king had previously demanded, they were forbidden to work their gold and silver mines, to import salt or to cut timber for ships; and thus, while the people were pacified for the time by the semblance of liberty, Macedonia was completely isolated. Æmilius, however, considered that he was dealing generously with the people; for, on leaving for Epirus, he exhorted the Macedonians to remember the liberty which the Romans had bestowed upon them, and to preserve it by good laws and the happiest harmony.

Paulus tarnished his great name by ordering ten chiefs from each of seventy towns in Epirus to collect all the silver and gold in their respective cities; then, having sent seventy squads of soldiers to seize this wealth, he tore down the walls of these towns and sold the population, one hundred and fifty thousand in all, into slavery.

At last, in 167 B.C., Æmilius Paulus, amidst the shouts of the people, passed up the Tiber in a splendid galley. The first day of his triumph the works of art were displayed and wagons laden with the arms and trophies of the Macedonian officers; on the second day these were followed by three thousand men carrying gold and silver plate from the tables of Perseus and his nobles. On the third gala-day men brought vases filled with gold coin and precious stones, while one hundred and twenty youths followed, each leading

a stately bull with gilded horns which were decked with ribbons and flowers. The royal car of Perseus came next, while the crown of Macedon glittered above it, and afterwards the two boys and a girl, children of the king, with their attendants. At the sight of these children the crowd for a moment, in pity, forgot their enthusiasm over the rest of the spectacle. Babies as they were, however, they realized nothing of their degradation, but were delighted with the gay procession. Finally came Perseus himself, with his queen, both so overcome with grief that they appeared as though walking in a dream. Paulus brought up the line in a triumphal car, heralded by men bearing four hundred gold crowns, taken from conquered Greek cities. He was followed by his two eldest sons on horseback at the head of the army.

But this pageantry could not compensate Paulus for his family afflictions. According to a frequent custom of the times, his two eldest sons had been adopted respectively by Fabius Maximus, son of the old dictator, and by Publius Scipio, the son of Africanus; and thus when, of the two little boys he found making his home joyful on his return to the city, one died five days before his triumph, and the other three days after, he was left without an heir. With the true courage of a Roman, however, he suppressed his private grief, and in his parting address said that he had trembled at every new laurel earned, lest some offended deity should avenge it with a sudden blow; and now he thanked the gods that the stroke had fallen upon himself and his family and not on the country; and he said that, although now no one was left to bear the name of Æmilius Paulus, he would not repine at his own domestic sorrow, since Rome was prosperous.

The immense booty from the Macedonian War paid all the debts incident to its progress, while the annual tribute from Macedon and the provinces together was enough to carry on future wars without taxation.

Paulus magnanimously interfered and liberated Perseus from a foul dungeon at Alba; but the unfortunate monarch only survived a short time his degrading defeat and the loss of his kingdom. The two little children also died, but Alexander, his son, was finally set free and given a clerkship in Rome; and thus the last heir of the great monarchy of Macedon became a hireling.

All the Achæan statesmen who had supported Perseus, amounting to one thousand suspected persons, were confined in the cities of Etruria, the historian Polybius, only, being taken to reside in the house of Æmilius Paulus. Callicrates, who had exposed these patriots, was left master of the Peloponnesus.

With Carthage, Greece and Macedon as subject Roman provinces, the great State became more anxious than ever for prey, as was seen in the treatment of the Rhodians, who, besides being stripped of Caria and Lyeia, were deprived of their commerce by Delos being declared a free port.

The Senate had weakened every government in the East, and was now sending its legions across the Maritime Alps, where they laid the foundation of the final conquest of Gaul. A petty warfare with the Dalmatians and Illyrian tribes was also concluded in the year 155 B.C. by Scipio Nasica, known as the "best man."

He was the son of Cnæus Scipio, who died in Spain, and therefore cousin of Scipio the Great. He was called the "best man" because, at the time when the life of the Republic was despaired of, a huge stone

representing the great mother of the gods was brought from Phrygia after the Battle of Metaurus, and kept as a sign of confidence in the endurance of the State. The Sibylline Books directed that this stone should be put in charge of the "best man," and the Senate awarded it to Scipio Nasica.

Four years after, Æmilius Paulus resigned the office of censor, and seven after his triumph, in 160 B.C., he died at the age of three score and ten, leaving behind him an untarnished name, with the exception of the terrible massacre in Epirus. He entertained the philosophy of the Stoics and maintained the simplicity of ancient Roman manners and customs to the end. At his death his property amounted to little more than sixty talents (two hundred and fifty-three pounds, fifteen shillings, or one thousand one hundred and eighty dollars).

Old Cato still kept up the contest against luxury. But his character was somewhat toned down after his son's marriage into the house of Æmilius Paulus. Then he even condescended to learn Greek, and brought the poet Ennius from Sardinia with him to teach Greek to the Romans. Notwithstanding this, he continued to make war against modern methods of study. His ideas of learning were that the youth should enter into the duties of the government and shun philosophical teachings, which he thought unfitted men for practical life. Accordingly, when in 155 B.C. the Athenians sent Carneades the Academic and Diogenes the Stoic as envoys to beg the Romans to remit the fines levied on their city, alarmed at the influence these specious philosophers exerted, and fearing that the youths might gain a taste for sophistical trifling, Cato induced the Senate to send the envoys away.

CHAPTER XX

SCIPIO AFRICANUS THE YOUNGER.—THIRD PUNIC WAR.
—FALL OF CARTHAGE.—LAST MACEDONIAN WAR.—
FALL OF CORINTH.—NUMANTIA BLOTTED OUT.—THE
SLAVE WAR AND OTHER WARS.

150 B.C.—131 B.C.

THE character of Scipio Africanus the Younger, who was called Æmilianus to distinguish him from Scipio the Great, stands out brilliant and unsullied when compared to the baseness of many Roman commanders. He was present with his father at the Battle of Pydna, and as legionary tribune, in the year 152 B.C., he had mediated between the people and the Senate; while in 151 he was sent to Spain as military tribune. His youth had been spent in intimacy with Polybius, the historian, who had been allowed to reside in the house of Paulus at the young man's request.

Polybius was twenty years older than Æmilianus, who was only a youth of eighteen. The latter was reserved in character, and Polybius was at first more attached to the frank and jovial Fabius; but later he came to understand the young man better. Contrary to the fears of Polybius, he resisted the temptations which beset the young nobles of that day; and, like his father, accepted the philosophy of the Stoics.

At the death of his aunt, the wife of the great Scipio and his grandmother by adoption, Æmilianus, as he was generally called, inherited her property. He gave this, however, to his mother, Papira, while all

the fortune he inherited from his own father he gave to Fabius; and besides this he paid half the expense of the gladiatorial shows of his brother out of the wealth left him by his adopted father, son of the Great Scipio. From this property he also immediately paid half the dowry of the latter's two daughters, the wives of Nasica and Gracchus, though the law allowed him three years to discharge the debt.

In the year 152 B.C. Scipio persuaded Cato to intercede for the unfortunate Achæan captives, who had spent their best days in the prisons of Italy, until their number was reduced from one thousand to three hundred. The debate continued for a long time, until Cato arose and said: "It is a pity we have nothing better to do than to sit here all day long discussing whether a few poor old Greeks shall be buried by Roman grave-diggers or have their coffins made in their own country." This decided the question, and the prisoners after sixteen years were sent home. When Polybius begged that those who had rank when brought thither might have it restored to them, Cato said that this request was just as if Ulysses had desired to return to the Cave of Cyclops to get his cap and belt. Polybius, when free, chose to accompany Scipio the Younger to the Siege of Carthage, instead of returning to Greece with his companions.

The Third Punic War was cruelly precipitated by Cato. As a result of Hannibal's efforts, the prosperity of Carthage after the Second Punic War increased rapidly; and Masinissa, supported morally by the Roman Senate, became so insufferable to many of the Carthaginians that they declared themselves ready to submit to the Roman yoke or even to die, "rather than to live at the mercy of this Numidian robber."

Nevertheless, the old oligarchy of Carthage which had expelled Hannibal was disposed to maintain peace at any price; while, in 150 B.C., the popular party, under Hasdrubal, resolved to fight Masinissa. Cato, about this time, was at the head of a commission sent to Africa to arbitrate. The envoys found Carthage full of men capable of bearing arms, and abounding in money and supplies of every kind; and Cato, impressed with the increasing power and greatness of the city, determined upon its destruction. Scipio Nasica, on the other hand, thought that the Roman excesses would be modified through fear of such a powerful rival, and he opposed the scheme with fervor.

When the commissioners reported at Rome, Cato rose in the Senate and picturesquely described the might and opulence of Carthage, saying that he was more than ever convinced that Rome could never be safe with such an antagonist as a neighbor. He let fall, on purpose, some Libyan figs from the folds of his gown, and remarked, when they were admired by the Senate for their size and beauty: "These figs have grown in a country but three days' sail from Rome," and from that time he closed every speech with the words: "*Delenda est Carthago!*" (Carthage must be destroyed.)

The oligarchy, with the aid of Masinissa, who was already ninety years old, defeated the popular party under Hasdrubal in a tremendous battle near Carthage; and this faction again lost the power. While these civil dissensions were going on the old oligarchy tried to take measures to appease the Roman Senate; but before their envoys reached Rome, with conciliatory propositions, the latter had already despatched the consuls to Sicily en route for the seat of war. Accord-

ingly the ambassador sent from Carthage met the consuls on their arrival at Utica with instructions to place their city at the absolute disposal of the Senate. These terms were accepted on condition that, in addition, three hundred young Carthaginians should be given up as hostages. The government at Carthage suspected foul play, but, seeing no other way, were obliged to comply in spite of their misgivings; and when the poor boys chosen were torn from their parents' arms a scene of the greatest agony ensued.

The Romans now informed the Carthaginian envoys that, since they were subject to Rome, they could no longer engage in hostilities on their own account, and accordingly they must give up all their weapons and engines of war. Therefore two hundred suits of armor and two thousand catapults were passed over to the Romans; but this did not end their humiliation, since they were also informed that as long as their city was situated by the sea, Rome would not be secure, and therefore the Senate had decided that the people must settle some ten miles inland, and that Carthage must be destroyed.

The ambassadors declared that the Senate had broken faith, and were taking away the people's livelihood, instead of granting her freedom as they had promised. The Romans replied that the guarantee referred only to the lives of the inhabitants, and not to the location of the city.

Hasdrubal, who had been condemned for treason, was placed in command of over twenty thousand men; and despair awakened all the latent heroism of the Carthaginians. The temples and all the public buildings were now transformed into workshops, where men and women toiled day and night manufacturing

arms, one hundred shields, three hundred swords, five hundred pikes and javelins and a thousand catapult bolts being turned out each day. The women even went so far as to sacrifice their beautiful long hair to make strings for the new catapults.

Contrary to the expectation of the consuls, it soon became clear that a siege would be necessary; and now the dauntless courage of that cruelly oppressed people, which has come down as the most remarkable in history, became apparent, since Carthage was annihilated in the height of her commercial success, when she was beginning a new career of splendid prosperity.

The coast line of old Carthage was twenty-three miles in circumference, and formed a bulwark in itself, while the land side, across the isthmus from Tunis, was fortified by all the engineering arts of the day. The outermost of the three walls surrounding the city was six and a half feet thick and rose forty-five feet high. There were stalls for three hundred elephants, and four thousand horses, and accommodation for twenty-four thousand troops, with a storage proportionately large. In addition to the natural advantages of the city, the Carthaginians fought so valiantly that had it not been for Scipio the Younger, who had been sent out by a special decree of the Senate to supersede the inefficient consul, Manilius, the Romans might easily have been driven off.

The Romans would have liked to enlist Masinissa in their behalf, but when they applied to the old Numidian, they found he was already dead. Masinissa, in spite of being a savage, had accomplished a great deal toward civilizing the wild tribes it had been his absorbing ambition to subjugate. On his deathbed he had appointed Scipio the Younger, to whom he was much

attached, his executor to name his successor. Accordingly, the latter divided up Numidia between Masinissa's three sons, appointing Golossa, the second son, as general-in-chief on condition that he should unite his army to that of the Romans, thus removing, as he thought, the danger of the Numidians taking part with Carthage.

Early in 147 B. C. Scipio the Younger, accompanied by Polybius and young Caius Lælius, took up his headquarters just outside of Carthage and proceeded to besiege the city. He cut off the Carthaginian supplies by throwing up an embankment, the remains of which are supposed to be the obstruction in that harbor at the present day. The Carthaginians then engineered a channel from the inside as a counter-entrance, and their enterprise was further shown by the construction of fifty ships, which were finished before the end of the year; and when Scipio's earthworks were completed the Romans saw the amateur fleet of the Carthaginians sail out of this improvised passage. The Romans, however, succeeded in soon blocking up this entrance and in destroying the greater part of the enemy's flotilla.

In the spring of 146 B.C. Tiberius Gracchus was the first to gain entrance to the city; and at the foot of the citadel, "Byrsa," the Romans, having broken into the dwellings, set the ruins on fire. The flames raged day and night for a week, until finally the people were obliged to ask for quarter. Scipio agreed to save all the inhabitants who had fled to the citadel, except the Roman deserters, and accordingly fifty thousand Roman men and women marched out through the break in the wall. Hasdrubal and his family made a gallant resistance in the Temple of Esculapius until, overcome

by famine and fatigue, Hasdrubal begged at Scipio's feet, and was spared for the latter's triumph; but his wife, ashamed of his cowardice, jumped with her children into the conflagration. The statues and valuables taken were no less magnificent than those which Æmilius Paulus had brought home from the East a score of years before.

The curse which was pronounced on any attempt to rebuild Carthage was thought to blight every new colony, until the one planted by Augustus became a great metropolis in the second century after Christ.

While Africanus the Younger was engaged in Africa, the four Republics into which Rome had divided Macedonia in 151 B. C. were thrown into confusion by the appearance of a pretender, Andriscus by name. The prætor, Quintus Metellus, in 148 B.C., was sent out against Andriscus, who was soon captured, and the last Macedonian War was ended without much bloodshed.

Polybius came from the burning of Carthage just in time to behold that of Corinth, for the Achæans, under Diæus, encouraged by the attempt of Andriscus, declared war against the Lacedæmonians, and were punished by the Romans by the loss of their sovereignty over Corinth, Argos and Lacedæmon, which reduced them to the condition from which Aratus had raised the Achæan League a century before. The leaders still fought on, until at the Battle of Corinth they were subdued by Lucius Mummius, a Roman consul, who had been sent out to finish the war. In the destruction of the city all the works of art, many of them Corinthian bronzes, were seized by Mummius in behalf of the State. The latter kept none of the valuables for himself, but, unconscious of their worth, he allowed

his soldiers to spoil many of them, one of the choicest, the work of the painter Aristides, being used as a draughtboard. When, however, someone offered to pay a high price for the painting, Mummius, although he understood nothing of its value, thought it a talisman and ordered it to be sent to Rome. But he so under-estimated the worth of the works of art that he told the seamen who were conveying the priceless statues and pictures to Rome, that, if the antiquities were lost, they would have to be replaced by new ones of equal value.

Polybius was left in Greece to lay the foundation of the various Grecian provinces. He said that it was better that one battle and the destruction of a single city had sealed her fate; while others also believed that "Greece was saved by her speedy fall." Polybius' countrymen raised a statue to him with an inscription, which declared that Greece would not have fallen had she heeded his counsels.

After all the adulation following his conquests, Scipio the Younger had continued in his simple mode of life, from which no inherited wealth could entice him. He had gained such a keen insight into the unsound basis of the State, resulting from the long wars and bad Senatorial government, that, when laying down the censor's office, instead of asking the gods to render Rome greater, he begged them simply to preserve her strength, saying that "she was powerful enough already."

As Scipio grew in public favor his popularity with the Senate declined. His contempt for that body is shown by his reply when a rival boasted that he was acquainted with all who frequented the Forum. He said: "I know only a few of my fellow-citizens by

name, but I have taken care that the people shall all know me."

Scipio was made consul in 135 B.C., and in the following spring, reinforced by young Jugurtha, grandson of Masinissa, he bombarded Numantia. The bravery of the inhabitants was such, that, although their number was only eight thousand, they could not be forced to surrender until reduced to the extremity of eating their own boots; but in spite of their heroism, displayed in every action, fifty of their number were selected to walk in Scipio's triumphal train, and the rest were sold into slavery, the town itself being so completely blotted out, that to this day its site is unknown. This was in 133 B.C.

After the whole coast-line of the Mediterranean was absorbed by the Romans, Scipio the Younger retired for a long time into private life; and, although the name had been won so ingloriously, Numantinus was added to his other titles.

Agriculture, the ancient glory of Italy, declined after the wars with Hannibal. The lands of the poor were appropriated by the rich, and no one was left to cultivate the soil, since all the slaves were employed as shepherds. This oppressed faction of the government had long been a dangerous element in the State. The Bruttians, who had been brought into servitude for joining with Hannibal, were among these, and the one hundred and fifty thousand Epirotes enslaved by Æmilius Paulus. In addition there were large numbers taken in the Syrian, Macedonian Illyrian, Grecian and Spanish wars; and there was also the regular slave trade kept up in the east on the shores of the Black Sea, and in the western part of Asia. Some of the slaves had been driven to desperation by

the conduct of their masters, who, when appealed to for their support, reminded them that robbery on the highway was open to them. In this way the herdsmen of lower Italy soon became an organized banditti; and from that time to travel through Apulia without a guard was highly dangerous, seven thousand of the slaves in that country alone being arrested for brigandage.

This state of affairs gave rise to what are known as the Slave Wars, in which two hundred and fifty thousand slaves combined against their oppressors. Masters were dragged from their houses and slain, the lives of women and children placed in jeopardy, property of all kinds was destroyed; and it looked as though the whole State might be submerged in the general current of insurrection. Finally, however, such leaders as Eunus and Cleon in Sicily, were either killed while fighting, or driven to taking their own lives; and, their influence being removed, the First Slave War was easily quelled.

The Sibylline Books, nevertheless, ordained that since the war had come about through the neglect of agricultural pursuit, Ceres must be propitiated. Accordingly, this same year, Tiberius Gracchus began agitating remedies for the low condition of husbandry in Italy. Later, in 131 B.C., laws were instituted for the better regulation of the farm districts, so that agriculture again flourished in Sicily.

CHAPTER XXI

TIBERIUS GRACCHUS.—DEATH OF AFRICANUS THE
YOUNGER.—CAIUS GRACCHUS.—JUGURTHAN WAR.—
MARIUS.—METELLUS.—SYLLA.

133 B.C.—103 B.C.

JUST before the Second Punic War a law had been passed making it illegal for Senators to engage in commercial business. The outgrowth of this system was the forming of a new wealthy division, called the "Equestrian Order," for the purpose of counteracting the arrogance of the too-powerful Senate. This adventurous class, consisting of three thousand of the wealthy picked from those who possessed an Equestrian rate of property, was supported by Caius Gracchus; and its members were called equites, or knights; and thus a lesser nobility was created.

The competition between the equites and the Senate forms one of the most striking phases of Italian civic history for fifty years, from the time of the Gracchi. During this era a man elected to the Senate sacrificed his position in the Equestrian Order, which really had nothing to do with military distinction.

One day when the conqueror of Hannibal, Scipio Africanus the Great, was feasting with his Senatorial friends, a marriage was arranged between Cornelia, his daughter, and Tiberius Gracchus, a young man of the Sempronian Plebeian family. When Scipio went home, and, without mentioning the suitor, told his wife that he had given away their daughter, Cornelia, she

upbraided him for not consulting her, since she said she knew of but one man worthy of their great treasure, and that was Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus.

These young people lived together in great happiness, and Cornelia became the mother of twelve children, one being a daughter who subsequently made an unsatisfactory marriage with Scipio Africanus the Younger; of the others, the two brothers Tiberius and Caius only survived. Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus lived to be fifty years old, and, after having won great laurels both in peace and war, died before his eldest son arrived at manhood, leaving his wife alone with her three children.

Cornelia devoted herself to her sons, calling them "her jewels," and refused all matrimonial alliances, even one from the king of Egypt. Although Cornelia was the daughter of the Scipios, she declared that she wished to be handed down to posterity as the "Mother of the Gracchi." Desiring that they should have all the culture of the day, Greek teachers were employed; and as soon as their youth was passed Tiberius, the elder, was elected a member of the College of Augurs, and soon after betrothed to the daughter of Appius Claudius, chief of the Senate.

When Tiberius was going through Etruria on his way to Spain, after he had fought beside his brother-in-law, Africanus the Younger, at Carthage, he noticed that all the fields were worked by foreign slaves; and that the poor Romans who had conquered their distant foes were allotted no land. On his return to Rome, in 133 B. C. Gracchus made an eloquent speech, pointing out the degradation of a State whose freedmen were supplanted by slaves. The old Licinian Law was now revived by him under the name of the

Agrarian Law of Tiberius Gracchus, with a provision inserted that the five hundred jugera, the limit in one family, should be increased by one half, the addition being given to each of two sons in a family.

Gracchus himself soon reached the summit of power, and thought that the passage of this law was certain, so that all the yeomanry were sanguine that their interests in the Italian commonwealth would be re-established. On the other hand, the nobles understood that the enforcement of such a law would deprive them of vast landed estates; and, although the speech of Gracchus was listened to with great applause, when the measure came up to vote, the tribune, Octavius, instigated by the landowners, forbade it, and the Assembly was broken up.

On the following day, although Tiberius made his appearance guarded, the tribune again vetoed the measure, and a disturbance being imminent, the friends of Gracchus urged him to refer the matter to the Senate. But, preferring to attempt to overthrow the law, on the third day he had the tribune dismissed from the Assembly with considerable violence, and the bill was passed by acclamation.

Gracchus for a time gained in popularity and took courage to propose a bill distributing the money which the King of Pergamos had just willed to the Roman people, in order to assist those who had already obtained an allotment of public land. This measure gave rise to quarrels in the Assembly, and Gracchus was even accused of receiving the insignia of royalty from the King of Pergamos, presented against the time when he should become King of the Romans. Tiberius was opposed in all measures by his cousin, the young Scipio Nasica.

To strengthen his waning influence, Tiberius proposed three enactments favorable to the interests of the people, which temporarily revived his popularity in his strife for re-election to the tribuneship. A hot debate followed the presentation of these enactments, and Gracchus, feeling a premonition of his untimely end, appeared that afternoon in the Forum, clothed in black, according to the custom of all in sorrowful circumstances. He led by the hand his little boy, whom he commended to the care of his fellow-citizens. Friends consoled him, and some of them kept watch all night near his home; but in the morning it was rumored that, on the ground that he was about to destroy the Republic, his death had been agreed upon. His friends then planted themselves in the square fronting the Temple of Jupiter on the Capitoline Hill, armed to defend him; but in the tumult which followed Gracchus made a sign denoting that his life was in danger. His enemies chose to interpret this as a signal for them to place a diadem on his brow. Then Nasica bade all who would save their country follow him.

All hope having fled, Tiberius now sought safety in the Temple of Jupiter, where he was slain by the mob Nasica was inciting. Three hundred who favored him perished in the fray, many of them being hurled over the Tarpeian Rock. Even the request of Caius Gracchus to bury his brother was refused, and his body was thrown into the Tiber.

This was the first sedition, since the expulsion of the kings, in which the blood of a Roman citizen had been spilled; and the Senate never recovered from the blow which his death gave the commonwealth. Notwithstanding the mild character of Tiberius

Gracchus, the influence he exerted in the seven months of his official career was tremendous, and gained him the name of "The Great." His sentiments were no doubt inspired by love of country, but his want of tact aroused opposition, and at last he was not resolute enough to carry his measures through. Scipio the Younger, in the camp at Numantia, when he heard of his death, said: "So perish all who dare such deeds." Nasica was accused of instigating his murder, and was obliged to seek an asylum in Pergamos, where he soon died. Crassus, the father-in-law of Caius Gracchus, now became the head of Tiberius' party.

Scipio the Younger died in 131 B.C., at the age of fifty-five. He had been called upon to speak in opposition to the Ultra-Democrats, the party of which, as the advocates of the late Agrarian Law, Caius Gracchus, Fulvius Flaccus and Papirius Carbo were the heads. After his speech had been delivered and received with most cordial applause by the Senate, Scipio was accompanied home by most of the Senators in the midst of a boisterous crowd of Italians; and it seemed that he was at the very climax of his greatness. The following day he was to deliver an oration in the Forum, in behalf of the rights of the Latins and Italians, and that night he retired in good health. The next morning, however, he was found dead in his bed, some said with marks of strangulation on his throat. By his side there were tablets, on which a synopsis of his next day's speech was written out. He was greatly mourned by the Senate. Caius Gracchus and his sister, Sempronia, Scipio's former wife, were suspected of complicity in the deed.

No doubt Scipio the Younger lacked the exceptional endowments of the first Africanus, but his won-

derful genius as a commander was noticeable even in that age of great generals. It is certain that at that time there was no one in Rome who was his equal, and his death was an overwhelming loss to the State. Although he was affectionate and generous to his friends, he was so indifferent to the people in general that there were no public demonstrations celebrated in his honor. In spite of his vast inheritances, he had little property left at his death.

Tranquillity for a time followed Scipio's death, and the people at large kept on hoping that they might yet be incorporated as citizens of the Republic; but a bill called the "Alien Act" was brought forward in 126 B.C., whereby all the unnaturalized citizens were obliged to leave Rome. Caius Gracchus commenced a discussion against this act, which was the groundwork for a contest kept up between the Roman and Italian element for thirty-six years.

In 124 B.C. Caius Gracchus returned from Sardinia, whither he had been sent for fear that he would avenge his brother's wrongs. He was an impetuous orator, and never failed to keep before his audience the story of his brother's death, which had happened nine years before, his eloquent words stirring the hearts of his hearers. While speaking, he was accustomed to walk from one side of the Rostra to the other, and to pull his toga from his shoulders. As he warmed up in his delivery, his powerful voice filled the Forum. Through his influence as founder of the Equites his power was great in Rome; and at last, in 123 B.C., he was elected tribune. From this time his will was supreme, he and Fulvius Flaccus being most powerful in the Comitia. He now became exceedingly active in works of public benefit, building

roads and bridges, and erecting milestones. In the meantime he obtained for the Italians the right to vote. He also alleviated the poverty of the lower orders by directing that grain should be sold to them at nominal rates.

Under the enactments of the Sempronian Law, Gracchus planted new Plebeian colonies in the different parts of Italy; and was sent to Carthage to colonize on the site of the old city. But when he returned his power had diminished, and his enemies determined to destroy his influence.

Lucius Opimius became consul in 121 B.C., and from that time Caius' political power not only declined, but his life was in danger. As a ground for abolishing the Sempronian Law, Opimius stated that the colony at Carthage, planted on the spot cursed by Scipio, had suffered the wrath of the gods. The Senate chose the very locality on which Tiberius Gracchus had been slain to act upon this bill. On the morning appointed, both Fulvius Flaccus and Gracchus appeared with their armed retinue. While Flaccus was haranguing the tribes, Gracchus scowled at a lackey, who was annoying him, and the crowd, ever alert in his favor, attacked and killed the flunky. This created a panic, and the mob fled in alarm, while Gracchus went home, regretting the imprudence of his followers.

That night the Senate as a body met in the Temple of Castor and Pollux to set a price on the heads of Gracchus and Fulvius Flaccus; and the next morning the Senators appeared with an armed band made up of the principal citizens. Gracchus, fearing to be taken alive, returned to the Temple of Diana, and, after praying that the gods might punish the ungrateful

people of Rome by the downfall of the Republic, he escaped to the Grove of the Furies, where he was found dead, the slave who accompanied him having first held the sword to his master's heart before he slew himself. The man who brought in his head was rewarded by Opimius with its weight in gold; and he is said to have loaded it with shot so as to gain a greater reward.

In the massacre which followed, three thousand persons perished. Their bodies were thrown into the Tiber, and their wives were forbidden to appear in mourning. Many others of the friends of the Gracchi besides these were imprisoned. The enemies of Gracchus tried to prove that the latter had been an infamous man; and at the time no one dared to acknowledge him as a friend; but afterwards the people loved his memory, and both of the brothers have been handed down as benefactors who sacrificed their lives for the public good.

The fall of the Gracchi left the people without a leader, and, since their opponents, in possession of the government, stopped the assignments of land, the inhabitants of the provinces soon became a prey of the nobles.

Cornelia withdrew to Misenum, not so much mourning for the loss of her illustrious progeny as delighting in the memory of their great deeds. Many sought her out in her solitude, where she recited proudly and gladly the story of the sacrifice of her heroic sons, whom she believed to be enshrined in the Temple of the Gods. Her statue was raised in the Forum with Greek sandals adorning her feet; and on a pedestal beneath this memorial were the words: "Cornelia, the Mother of the Gracchi."

Since the fall of Numantia and the end of the Slave Wars, there had been few hostilities, although the Balearic Isles and Dalmatia had been subdued and there had been numerous encounters with the Gauls.

When Micipsa, the last of the three sons of Masinissa, died in 118 B.C., leaving his nephew Jugurtha as joint ruler with his sons, Adherbal and Hiempsal, all thought that the former would, with the help of Rome, seize the Numidian crown. Scipio, when taking leave of Jugurtha at Numantia had said: "Trust to your own merits and power will come of itself, seek it by intrigue, and you will lose all"; but Jugurtha liked better the suggestion of the young nobles in Scipio's camp, who told him that at Rome all things might be had for gold. Therefore after causing the insubordinate Hiempsal to be assassinated and driving Adherbal to take refuge with the Roman Senate, he acted on the hint of the wealthy young Romans, and sent messengers to Rome carrying bribes. As a result, the sandy desert was assigned to Adherbal, while the western and richer portions, formerly belonging to Syphax, were given to Jugurtha. The latter was not content with this, but seizing his cousin's kingdom, put him to death by torture. He had gained so much influence by bribery that even this crime would have been hushed up, had not Caius Memmius exposed his plots before the Senate. The wily Numidian escaped execution, however, by clever use of his money; and he was only ordered from the city, when it was discovered that he was intriguing to have his cousin Massiva, grandson of Masinissa, assassinated. As he looked back upon Rome he scornfully remarked: "A city for sale to the highest bidder." When a bill was brought up, for inquiring

into the conduct of all concerned in Jugurtha's affairs, some of the leading Senators were found guilty, and obliged to retire.

There now becomes prominent in the Roman world a man called Caius Marius. He was a citizen of the Volscian town of Arpinum, and already fifty years old. In some respects Marius had the same cast of character as Cato, though he possessed none of the latter's intellectual traits. His rough manners and his want of diplomacy unfitted him for public life, so that in peace, as it afterwards proved, he was entirely overlooked by the people. When not yet twenty-five years old, his simple habits, at a time when the army was ruined by luxury and pleasure, had commended him to Scipio the Younger's favor.

One evening in camp the conversation had happened to turn upon the great commanders then on the stage of the world. Someone had asked, either out of complaisance to Scipio, or because he wished to know: "Where will the Romans find another such a general when Scipio is gone?" Upon which the latter, putting his hand on the shoulder of Marius, who sat next to him at dinner, said: "Here, perhaps." The ambition of Marius was incited by this prediction of future glory, more than as if it had been a divine oracle.

In 109 B.C. Marius took the field in Africa against Jugurtha as lieutenant under Cecilius Metellus, and after a temporary success the Numidians were driven off. Jugurtha, now seeing that the Romans would soon get away all his kingdom, tried to make terms with Metellus. But the latter not only demanded that he should pay two hundred pounds sterling, but give up all his elephants, horses and arms, hand over all

deserters, and finally give up himself. Then Jugurtha broke off negotiations.

It began to appear that Marius was trying to climb up over Metellus, and they soon were avowed enemies, especially when, in 107 B.C., Marius succeeded in gaining the consulship in spite of all Metellus' efforts against it.

When Metellus received the news of Marius' appointment to supersede him against Jugurtha, just as his army had been successful in driving the latter from Numidia and was about to advance against Cirta, he wept bitterly, and immediately set sail for Rome. Marius then harangued the people, saying that "although he knew no Greek, and did not have the means to furnish great banquets, that, although a 'new man,' without heirlooms, he had in his own right spears and trappings, standards and prizes, won by valor." It soon proved in truth, that, though lacking riches and eloquence, by means of which men at that day acquired influence, his indefatigable industry, ambitious spirit and plain manner of living recommended him effectually to the common people, especially to his soldiers, all of whose vicissitudes he shared. Notwithstanding it was "his wounds of which he boasted, and not the images or monuments of the dead," he took pains to ally himself to the oligarchy through his marriage with Julia, a member of the Cæsar family.

Although, as a means of gaining the consulship, Marius had promised to capture Jugurtha dead or alive, the latter baffled him as he had Metellus, until Marius was obliged to negotiate with Bocchus, King of Mauritania, Jugurtha's father-in-law, to whom the former had fled. In this he was assisted by Lucius

Cornelius Sylla, who later robbed him of the glory of his exploits in the very same manner that Marius had snatched both victory and honor from Metellus, when the latter had finished the war, with the exception of taking Jugurtha.

Sylla was now thirty-one years of age, twenty years younger than Marius. His father was of the great Cornelian gens. This had been obscure since the days of Publius Rufinus, who had been expelled from the Senate, for some fraudulent transaction one hundred and eighty years before. Sylla inherited no fortune, and at one time earlier in life had taken lodgings with a poor freedman, who, years after, having been condemned to be thrown from the Tarpeian Rock for concealing a friend in the time of Sylla's proscriptions, took revenge by saying: "I am an old acquaintance of Sylla; we lived long under the same roof. I occupied the upper apartment at two thousand sesterces, he the one below, but little better, for three thousand."

Sylla's eyes, of a lively blue, were fierce and menacing and tended to increase his savageness of aspect. His complexion was pallid and muddy on account of his dissolute habits, and "syl," being a yellow kind of earth, which when burned becomes red, he acquired the name of Sylla. Unlike Marius, Sylla cultivated his mind, understanding Greek and Latin literature and courting dramatic art. He would never admit of anything serious at his table, spending much of the time at meals with mimics and jesters, and, though at other times grave and austere, in company at dinner he would at once begin a carousal. The Romans considered it disgraceful to rise out of family poverty to wealth, as is seen by a remark of

some person of consideration when Sylla was boasting of his means and the great things he had done in Africa: "How canst thou be an honest man, who commandest such a fortune, when thy father left thee nothing?"

Bocchus interceded with Marius in public for Jugurtha, and said that he would never give him up, while privately he was writing to Sylla that he intended to betray him. Some days, after both were in his power, Bocchus thought he would hand over Jugurtha to Sylla, of whom he was expecting a good deal; while at other times he was undecided whether not to surrender Sylla to Jugurtha. When finally he consented to banish Jugurtha, Sylla insisted that he would accept nothing except Jugurtha in person; and at last, adhering to the treachery he had first conceived, Bocchus bade Jugurtha appear at a specified time and place, and, seizing his retinue, gave him up alive to Sylla.

Then the latter returned in triumph to the camp of Marius, claiming all the honor of conquering the illustrious prisoner; and ever after he provoked the ambitious Marius by wearing and sealing his letters with a signet ring which represented Bocchus in the act of delivering up Jugurtha to him.

In 104 B.C. Marius entered Rome in triumph, with the quantity of booty taken, and deposited it in the Capitol, and on that same day he was elected to his second consulship.

After Jugurtha, stupefied with grief, had walked before the triumphal car of Marius, he was aroused by an inhuman officer wrenching the jewels from his ears and depriving him of his royal apparel. He was then thrust deep down into what is now the Mamer-

tine prison. "Heavens! how cold is this bath of yours!" he cried, and after six days of starvation he died. His kingdom was divided between Bocchus and Gauda, the latter being the last legitimate descendant in the line of Masinissa.

CHAPTER XXII

WAR WITH THE CIMBRI AND TEUTONS.—CAREER OF
MARIUS AND SYLLA.—CATULUS.—THE WAR OF THE
ALLIES.—PUBLIC MEN.—SOCIAL WAR.

103 B.C.—88 B.C.

IN 106 B.C. vast hordes from the north of Europe, impelled by want and a desire for homes, had appeared on the northern frontier of Gaul. As early as 113 B.C. the Romans had met and been conquered by these barbarians in Istria; and while the war with Jugurtha had been going on the main body, generally known as Celto-Scythæ, and recognized by the Greeks as the Cimmerians, had pressed westward and crossed the Rhine, several times coming off victorious.

In 105 B.C., while Marius was in Africa, after the capture of Jugurtha, two battles were fought under Mallius and Cæpio, both consular armies being destroyed. This proved to be the most serious disaster that Rome had sustained since the Battle of Cannæ, and was marked as a black day in the calendar.

Then the barbarians passed over the Pyrenees into Spain; and while Italy was free from fear of their inroads, Marius pushed forward the reorganization of the army. His troops were furnished from the lowest class, those who had no appreciable property, and when not on military duty they were obliged to dig trenches and perform other menial services outside of regular army routine, those who submitted being handed down as the "Mules of Marius."

In 103 B.C. Marius was elected consul for the third

time and the next year for the fourth time. His colleague was now Quintus Lutatius Catulus, a man high among the aristocracy, and one of the greatest of the Romans, especially in oratory. So esteemed was his character from his early youth, that people used to say "that a thing must be true, if Quintus Lutatius had said so."

Soon after the election of these two men the direful day which showed the Cimbrians on the Italian side of the Pyrenees arrived. Most historians agree that their numbers, instead of being less, were greater than was reported; and as to their courage, their spirit, their force and vivacity, they could only be compared to a devouring flame. Nothing could resist their impetuosity, and all that came in their way were trodden down or driven before them like cattle. Meanwhile the Teutons had entered Gaul from the northeast, and had combined with the Cimbrians. Marius, in haste, crossed the Alps to arrest the Teutons, and spent the remainder of that year in fortifying a camp between Arles and Avignon, where he stationed himself, while Catulus with his army was ordered to the Plains of Lombardy. This was Catulus' first consulship and his first experience in war.

In the year 102 B.C. the Teutons marshaled themselves in front of Marius' camp, and with their barbaric war-cries dared him to an encounter. Their onslaught was so fierce that Marius said: "We have hitherto fought for trophies, but now we fight for existence."

Marius was in the habit of consulting the stars; and accordingly he carried in his train a Syrian woman named Martha, whose predictions of success had proved so correct that she inspired great confidence.

When she went to sacrifice she wore a purple robe, lined with the same royal color, and she held in her hand a spear adorned with ribbons and garlands.

Before any great victory two vultures always followed the army, and were recognized by their brazen collars, which the men had once put upon them before letting them go; and their appearance always produced great rejoicing among the troops. About this time also there were seen in the sky spears and shields of fire clashing against each other in the posture of fighting men, one party giving way and the other advancing, until they all disappeared in the west.

The Teutons, driven off, now marched for Italy, and on their way they defiled before the Roman camp with their blazing shields, asking the Italian soldiery derisively whether they had not some commands for them to take back to their wives. The immensity of their numbers appeared, when, though moving without intermission, they were six days in going by the camp of Marius. The latter followed after them as far as Aquæ Sextiæ, where he found a tribe of Ambrons, enjoying a bath in the hot spring. As soon as they were discovered they snatched their weapons and gave a weird war-whoop, using the word "Ambrons" as a refrain; but they were driven across the river to their camps, where their wives met them with swords and axes, and hacked Romans and fugitives alike to pieces. When darkness stopped the battle Marius' forces withdrew to their fortified camps, whence all night long they heard the wailings of the Ambrons lamenting their dead, mingled with shouts for vengeance.

Contrary to the expectation of Marius, the Teutons did not join their comrades, the Ambrons, in battle

till the day after. Then they drew up their forces in the plain in front of the Roman camp on the hill. The Romans waited until the barbarians, who charged up the slope with savage yells, were within reach, and then they threw their javelins and drew their swords, falling upon the broken ranks of the enemy. Marcus, Marius' lieutenant, who was lying in ambush, soon came to the rescue, and fell upon their rear; and in the dreadful massacre which followed the Teutons, more than one hundred thousand in all, were entirely annihilated. The number of slain was so great that for many years the people of Marseilles used the bleached bones to wall in their vineyards, and the whole plain ever after was a fertile field. As Marius stood, wearing a purple robe, with his gown girdled in the Roman fashion, and a torch uplifted, about to set fire to a laurel-crowned pile of trophies, horsemen, who had been seen from afar, leaped from their saddles and saluted him as consul for the fifth time.

The Cimbrians, scorning to wait for spring, found their way over the ice-bound mountains, and sliding triumphantly over the slippery precipices on their broad glistening shields, poured through the Brenner Pass in the winter of 101 B.C. The Roman soldiers under Catulus discovered them tearing up trees and breaking off rocks to dam the streams; and, not used to the ferocious appearance of these brutal barbarians, they took to precipitate flight.

Marius was at this time being received in Rome as the conqueror of the Teutons; but he would have no triumph until Italy was freed from the Cimbrian hordes also. He immediately set off to meet Catulus, who was posted on the southern bank of the Po near

Piacenza. Sylla was an important factor in supplying this combined army of forty thousand with stores, and Marius, though grudgingly, had to give him credit for active aid.

The Cimbrians had not heard of the annihilation of the Teutons at Aquæ Sextiæ, and, hoping to meet them, sent envoys to Marius, declaring that they wished to join their brethren in Italy, and with them receive land from the Romans. Marius replied: "Your brethren have already enough land on the other side which we have given them, and they shall have it forever"; and he then brought forth the Teuton kings in chains, and these related their melancholy tale. When the Cimbrian chiefs challenged Marius to name the day and place for a pitched battle, he said that, although the Romans were not accustomed to consult the enemy on such points, he would fix the third day and the Plain of Vercellæ as the battleground.

Here the encounter took place on the 30th of July, 101 B.C., the Cimbrian host advancing in one dark mass, their ranks linked together by chains. Their cavalry, to the number of fifteen thousand, armed with plumed helmets, representing the heads of frightful wild beasts, presented themselves in splendid array. The breast-plates were of polished iron and their shields were white. The heat of the July sun was intense, and this with the dust, which hid both armies from each other, weakened these men, used to shade and Arctic cold; their broken ranks were driven back by the charge of the whole Roman fighting force, and in their flight their women scoffed at and finally slew their fathers, husbands and brothers as they returned. There was fearful carnage, and the wives

behind their wagons held out as long as they were able; but when they could resist no longer, they strangled their children and destroyed themselves, so that the Cimbrian host disappeared as completely as the Teutons.

The Irruption of the Barbarians was now postponed for three hundred years, and this victory in truth settled the question of modern civilization. Marius and Catulus had alike fought with desperation, and won great renown, but the Romans gave Marius all the credit. They offered him libations by their fire-sides along with their Penates, and, pronouncing him the third founder of Rome, declared that he only was worthy to triumph. Marius, however, said that Catulus must share the honors with him.

At this moment Sicily was again laid waste by servile insurrections, there being uprisings both in the east and the west. The one in the west was led by a Cilician slave named Athenio, who claimed to be a prophet. He advanced with ten thousand men, and the Romans could make no headway against the uprising until Aquilius, the colleague of Marius, brought the insurgents to an engagement, slaying the brave Athenio in a hand-to-hand contest. Afterwards, remaining in Sicily for another year, Aquilius crushed out the Second Slave War.

After the fall of Athenio the insurgents, reduced to one thousand desperate men, high in station and education, and commanded by one Satyrus, were sent to Rome to serve as gladiators. The agony of these highborn men, when reduced to slavery in accordance with the customs of ancient warfare, can hardly be imagined. When brought to contend with the wild beasts they slew one another in the arena rather than

fight for the amusement of their conquerors, while Satyrus put an end to his own life.

Soon after this a law was passed allowing no slave to own a weapon. Lucius Domitius, soon after prætor, once received as a gift a wild boar; but finding that it was one of the slave-shepherds who had killed it he summoned the man to his presence. This unhappy menial came gladly, expecting a recompense; but Domitius, finding that the beast had been slain with a weapon used in the chase, had the poor fellow crucified. Such was the status of Roman civilization at this era.

About this time a revolution in public sentiment caused judicial power to be transferred from the Senate to the Equestrian Order; and free discussion being allowed, it became impossible for the Senate to protect influential law-breakers. Thus a check was indirectly given to vice.

The Senate was now in the hands of the moderate party, of whom Marcus Æmilius Scaurus, Metellus and Catulus were the most prominent. Scaurus was noted for his capacity for business and his management of parties. Although in his youth a corrupt politician, he later developed strong principle, and was considered the most important man in the field of politics from the fall of Gracchus to the rise of Sylla. The two Scævolas were most noted for purity of life, the augur being celebrated for his great legal attainments. He had married Lælia, the daughter of Scipio's friend Lælius. The other Scævola, who held the office of Pontifex Maximus, also cultivated forensic talent, shunning political prominence. Cicero shows the Pontifex' conscientious turn of mind when he tells us, in the course of his charmingly illustrative anecdote,

dotes, that in purchasing property the latter insisted on paying a larger sum than the price fixed.

The two great advocates, Marcus Antonius and Lucius Licinius Crassus, generally appeared as attorneys for the Senators and seldom met as rivals. Crassus was a close friend of the pontiff, and wed Mucia, daughter of Scaevola the augur. His speech in favor of the Servilian Law of Cæpio was so classical and polished that Cicero said that it could not be outdone except by Crassus himself. He also remarked that Crassus would be the greatest orator Rome had ever seen were it not for Antonius, and Antonius would be the most distinguished were it not for Crassus.

Marius was now the greatest man in Italy. It was his military glory that won him the regard of the multitude; for he had no forensic talent, and his popularity began to decline as soon as his military career was interrupted. When complaint was made that he had constituted many of his army, taken from the lowest strata of society, Roman citizens, he said: "The voice of the law is hushed by the din of arms." He would not entertain the thought of closing his public career, and much to the astonishment of everyone he appeared in 101 B.C. as a candidate for the sixth consulship.

Lucius Apulius Saturninus, who was a base partisan of Marius, proposed, in imitation of the Gracchi, to divide up the public lands in Gaul which in reality belonged to the provincials. All the Senators thought it wise to temporarily agree to this enactment, except Metellus, whom Saturninus, as tribune, in anger banished. Being thwarted also in many other obnoxious measures, Saturninus seized the Capitol; and he with the insurgents were only subdued by being deprived

of the water supply in that part of the city. Marius tried to save Saturninus by insisting upon a regular trial. But the mob slew the latter and his followers.

When Metellus was recalled after a year's absence, nobles and people gave him so mighty an ovation that Marius, embittered, sailed for Africa. Here he was received with every mark of honor by Mithridates, whose courtesy he returned by saying that the latter would have to conquer Rome or become subject to her.

Sylla was elected prætor in 96 B.C., after promising that in this office he would perform the duties expected of him as ædile, such as furnishing hunts and combats with wild beasts.

The War of the Allies, sometimes called the Mar-sian or Social War, came about in 90 B.C., through the discontent of the Italian towns at being continually deprived of their rights. These united to establish a government for themselves called Italica, with its capital at Corfinum. This they intended should supersede the authority at Rome. Most of the generals of this League had learned their war tactics in the Roman army under Marius, and they now made a stand at Asculum. But they were opposed by two Roman divisions.

After the war had dragged along for more than a year Cnæus Pompey Strabo, father of Pompey the Great, a selfish but able man, took command in the north; and Sylla, hoping to throw Marius into the shade, came forth from the south. Bovianum, which had become the capital of the League, was betrayed to Papius, one of the Samnite generals.

At first Strabo was unsuccessful, but concessions having been made with reference to admitting the

Italians at large, he became master of the north; and the Marsians first, the leading people in the revolt, and finally all the rest of the eight nations excepting the Lucanians and the Samnites, were pacified.

Asculum was obliged to surrender, and Judicilius, a Picenan, having the night before destroyed all his enemies in the city, erected a funeral pile on which he gave a sumptuous banquet. Then, anticipating the cruelty with which Pompey Strabo afterward treated the citizens, Judicilius drank a cup of poison, and having passed it to his friends lighted the funeral pile. Although the war was brought to a close, peace had been purchased with heavy losses on the side of the Romans; for each of the three thousand youths who had fallen in the struggle, even if on the side of the enemy, whether Roman, Latin or Italian, was a soldier lost to the Republic.

CHAPTER XXIII

FIRST CIVIL WAR.—MARIUS' PROSCRIPTIONS.—MITHRIDATIC WAR.—RETURN OF SYLLA.—POMPEY THE GREAT.

88 B.C.—83 B.C.

THE rivalry between Marius and Sylla as to who should command the expedition against Mithridates in 89 B.C. was the cause of the First Civil War. Marius, fearing to lose his hold on the public, went every day to the Campus Martius to engage in athletic exercises with the young men, notwithstanding he was already of advanced age and much inclined to corpulency. He worked through Publius Sulpicius, a fellow set up in place of Saturninus, so base that it was said he was only outdone by himself. Sulpicius, as tribune, acted in Marius' interests in gaining the Italian ballot, by placing the voters in Italian cities on the same level as the old Roman citizens. This caused much civil strife, and, in the riot which followed, Sylla's son-in-law, the son of Pompeius Rufus, was murdered, and also many other of his followers; and in the fray Sylla was forced for safety to take refuge in Marius' house. Sylla retired thence to Nola with his army, preparatory to setting out for the East, and it was there that he learned that Marius had superseded him in the command of the Mithridatic War.

Sylla rehearsed to his men all the insults heaped upon him by Marius, and reminded his soldiers of

their losses in booty if they went over to Marius' side. The common soldiers then stoned to death some of the envoys who brought the news of Marius' appointment. But the superior officers, being unwilling to enter the unfamiliar and thorny path of Civil War, fled to Rome.

Sylla had received omens during the sacrifices which encouraged him to go ahead, and when the Senate sent to demand his reasons for taking up arms in civil strife, he replied: "In order to set my country at liberty"; and he immediately commenced to force an entrance through the Esquiline Gate, and with his forces entered the city, where he immediately set a portion of it on fire. His reserves attacked Marius in the Suburra, and forced him to take refuge in the Temple of Vesta, where he issued a proclamation offering liberty to all slaves who should join his standard, but, failing to receive their support, Marius and Sulpicius were obliged to seek safety in flight.

Sylla issued a decree proclaiming the old general and his stepson Granius, the tribune Sulpicius and others traitors. With characteristic courage Scævola the augur said: "I will never consent to declare Caius Marius an outlaw." All but Sulpicius, who was betrayed by one of his dependents, escaped. The head of the latter was put high up above the Rostra, the first instance of this kind of vengeance on record. Sylla rewarded the menial for his service to the State, but afterwards he threw him over the Tarpeian Rock for his treachery to his master.

Marius retired to his house at Salonium, and thence repaired to Ostia, accompanied only by his stepson Granius. He encouraged his attendants by assuring them that a seventh consulship was yet awaiting

him. He told them that when he was a little boy and lived in the country an eagle's nest fell into his lap with seven young ones in it, and that the sooth-sayers told his parents that their son would be one of the most illustrious of men, and that he would seven times attain the highest office and authority of the State. Some say that this was impossible, because the eagle never has more than two young ones at a time, and that she lays three eggs, sits on two and rarely hatches but one. However the facts of natural history may be, Marius during his entire banishment and in his greatest extremity buoyed up his spirits by the idea that he should certainly come to the seventh consulship.

From Ostia Marius embarked for Africa, where he had great influence on account of his Jugurthan campaign. He was driven by a tempest near Circe; and while he was straying along the desolate shore, some herdsmen, who recognized him, warned him that a party of cavalry was in close pursuit. Seeing two merchant vessels passing near, Marius plunged into the water and made for the ship. He was so stout that two slaves could hardly keep him above water until they got him on board one of the vessels. This was about two miles from the city of Minturnæ.

Meantime the horsemen rode down to the water and demanded that Marius be given up. With tears, he besought protection, and the ship for the time continued on its course; but when it reached the mouth of the Liris, they landed Marius alone upon the swampy shore. He found an old man's hut, and near it he was concealed in a marsh. Having been dragged out, he was conveyed more dead than alive to Minturnæ, where he was delivered over to the

magistrates of the town. These had received word from Rome not to spare him, and a dragoon from Gaul was sent to put the great general to death. As the slave entered the gloomy chamber he saw only the old man's eyes piercing the darkness, while a deep voice exclaimed: "Darest thou slay Caius Marius?" The man in fright threw down his weapon and fled, crying out: "I cannot put Caius Marius to death."

By means of his strong will-power he prevailed upon the magistrates to let him go, telling them that they could not slay the preserver of Italy; and he then joined his son-in-law, Granius, with whom he was conveyed in a friendly ship to Africa. Here, near the site of ancient Carthage, he met his son Marius, who had escaped from Rome before him; but both were forbidden to stay there by Sextilius, the Roman prætor. When the messenger demanded what word he should take back, Marius with scorn looked him in the face and said: "Tell him you have seen Caius Marius, in exile, sitting among the ruins of Carthage." He with his son soon found refuge in Corsica.

Meanwhile Sylla, seeing how obnoxious his presence with his army was to the people, felt obliged to leave with his troops for Campania, Lucius Cornelius Cinna remaining as consul. Then, impeached by Cinna, he shipped for Greece. Lucius Cornelius Merula superseded the latter after he had been defeated in a battle; but, not disheartened, Cinna collected all the troops he could in different parts of Italy, and with Quintus Sertorius and Cnæus Papirius Carbo was soon at the head of a formidable army. Marius, hearing this, proceeded to land in Etruria, with a body of Numidians, and offered to accept a

command under these leaders. All except Quintus Sertorius, who feared the old general's irascible temper, advised Cinna to receive Marius. But the latter would not accept the rank of proconsul, which was offered him, though otherwise he entered heartily into Cinna's plans. When finally, with their army, all reached Ostia, they threw a bridge over the Tiber, Sertorius, Cinna and Carbo respectively investing Rome on all sides, while Marius with his troops strengthened their rear. Meanwhile the Senate had not failed to defend the city by means of soldiers from the friendly Italian States and from Cisalpine Gaul.

In reply to a deputation sent to him from the Senate, Cinna promised that if admitted to the city he would discourage violence. Notwithstanding this, they thought the sight of the old general, Marius, beside him, in mean apparel, and with hair and beard which had not been trimmed since his exile, boded little good. Marius when also invited scoffingly replied that before he entered the city his rights must be restored. But he only waited for a few to vote, and when inside the town his followers were allowed to massacre at will, the consul Octavius being the first slain. Marius was accompanied everywhere by miscreants instructed to strike down any person of rank on the street whose salute he did not return. Soon every avenue of every town was full of assassins, and no obligation of friendship or hospitality was strong enough to stem the tide of violence.

Publius Crassus committed suicide when he knew that his son was slain; and Lucius Cæsar, the author of a law to give the ballot to the Italians, was stabbed with his brother Caius on their own threshold. Quin-

tus Ancharius was struck down in the precincts of the temple, he being one of those not saluted by Marius. The orator, Antonius, a friend of Sylla, was concealed in the suburbs by a countryman, who, in buying wine, unwittingly betrayed him by telling the dealer that he must have an extra brand, since it was for the special use of the great orator Antonius. The merchant in turn disclosed the orator's retreat to Marius, and the latter, having ordered Antonius' head to be brought to him, used it that night as a centerpiece at a banquet. Cornelius Merula was indicted for having aspired to and accepted the consulship in place of Cinna, and, anticipating condemnation, he opened his own veins. Catulus, hearing that Marius, in spite of their former friendship, had singled him out for execution because he had advocated Marius' exile, stifled himself with gas from a charcoal brazier.

The heads of all the most conspicuous victims were set up above the Rostra, their bodies being left uninterred. Sylla had escaped, but his house was torn down, his property seized, and his wife, Cecilia, had been obliged also to flee.

This massacre of Marius, unlike later proscriptions, only lasted five days. But it was a "Reign of Terror"; for Marius had returned to Italy, mad for vengeance on account of what he had suffered since his enforced flight. This occurred in 87 B.C.

In January, 86 B.C., Marius was chosen consul for the seventh time as the colleague of Cinna, in his second consulship. As Marius walked out on the Calends of January, the first day of his last consulship, he ordered Sextus Licinius to be seized and thrown over the Tarpeian Rock. This was his last shocking deed; for his fearless spirit soon suc-

cumbed; and he now trembled at the prospect of other wars, and at the realization that he would shortly have to contend with his enemy Sylla, the present conqueror of Mithridates; and having become drunken and demoralized, his already undermined constitution gave way. In his delirium he thought he was carrying on war against Mithridates, and his shouts as if giving orders to his legions resounded beyond the walls of his palace.

Thus, at the age of seventy, in 86 B.C., he who had compassed six consulships, died, seventeen days after he had received the unparalleled honor of a seventh. In spite of all that he had accomplished, he succumbed, like any disappointed partisan who has failed in his highest ambitions. His death caused the greatest joy in Rome; for, hated by his enemies and feared by his friends, all felt that this event had freed them from great peril. It was not long, however, before it appeared that tyranny had only changed hands; for news soon came from the East that Sylla's return could not be long prevented, since he was about putting an end to the Mithridatic War.

The next three years was a period which Cicero declared was without dignity, and without authority; for Cinna remained at the head of the government, at first with Lucius Valerius Flaccus, and in 85 and 84 B.C., consul for the third and fourth times with Carbo; and, until the return of Sylla in 83 B.C., there was no security felt in the State.

Mithridates of Pontus was a monarch so far above the average of Oriental despots that a comet, which at his birth blazed in the heavens, was supposed to have been a sign of his destined greatness. About the year 100 B.C., during an outbreak in Cappadocia,

which had invited the interference of Rome, Mithridates thought he saw a chance to extend his power in the East. Marcus Aquilius had been sent out by the Romans at the head of an expedition to restore young Nicomedes of Bithynia to the throne of his father, and to establish Ariobarzanes in Cappadocia. Aquilius advised Nicomedes, after he was established, to devastate the land of Mithridates as a means of gaining money to pay the debt of Rome. But Mithridates defeated Nicomedes, and was welcomed as a deliverer by the people of Bithynia. Aquilius was delivered up to this monarch, who carried him around his provinces, seated upon an ass, making him declare that he was one Manius, and that it was due to his connivance that the war had come about. Finally Aquilius was put to death by being made to swallow molten gold.

Meanwhile Mithridates meddled with Roman affairs in the East, having eighty thousand Italians slaughtered in a day, and setting free all those whom the Romans had imprisoned in Asia, besides remitting all taxation which Rome had placed upon the people. This was the situation in the East when Sylla landed in Epirus in 88 B.C. He found that Athens also had risen against Rome, supported by Archelaus, Mithridates' best general. After trying in vain to beat down Themistocles' old walls at Piræus, he saw that in order to be able to take Athens he must gain the mastery of the sea. Accordingly, he sent Lucius Lucullus to collect ships from Egypt, Rhodes and Syria. But before the latter had returned Athens surrendered in the March of 86 B.C., and Piræus fell as soon as Archelaus departed to meet Taxiles in Thessaly. Mithridates' troops, under these generals,

were defeated by Sylla, who led an army of only fifteen thousand against one hundred thousand of the enemy, nine-tenths of these being destroyed at the Battle of Cheronea.

In 85 B.C. Mithridates was defeated by Lucullus off Tenedos, and, seeing that the passage to the Hellespont was now open to Sylla, he was induced to treat with Sylla and to accept the terms of peace arranged by his general, Archelaus. According to the treaty, he had to pay two thousand talents and give up his fleet of seventy ships.

Having quieted Mithridates for a time, Sylla, urged on by his wife, who had followed him from Rome, soon prepared to return to Italy, after an absence of four years. He spent the remainder of 84 B.C. in Ephesus getting ready for the invasion of Italy, and before setting out he sent a message to the Senate reminding that body that his efforts for the State had been requited with great ingratitude, that his house had been leveled, he himself had been exiled, his friends had been stricken down in cold blood, and his wife and children obliged to flee for their lives; and now he was coming back to take vengeance for his wrongs.

The Senate, desiring to propitiate Sylla, sent envoys, guaranteeing him a safe-conduct, in case he should desire to return to Rome. Meanwhile, Cinna and Carbo had arranged an attack on Sylla in Greece; and, not heeding the advice of the Senate, had prepared to ship troops from Ancona to Dalmatia. But the second division stranded on the Italian coast in a tempest; and the army broke up, the soldiers declaring that they would not fight their countrymen, while Cinna, in trying to compel obedience, was stoned to

death by the leaders. He died abhorred by everybody, since he was a man without political principle or tact. During the three years in which he had been absolute ruler of Rome he had not been able to avail himself of one of the advantages of his position.

Carbo now prepared to defend Italy against Sylla, who sent word to the Senate that he should insist on being restored to all the privileges and property of which he had been deprived, but beyond this, his army was a sufficient safeguard for himself and troops. The Senate, tired of his arrogance, declined to negotiate; but in the spring of 83 B.C. Sylla left Greece for Brindisi, having collected an army of forty thousand Italian soldiers to oppose Carbo.

When he landed, Sylla found levying troops for him a young officer destined to be the greatest man in Rome. This was Cnæus Pompey, afterwards called Pompey the Great. He had early learned military tactics, and his soldierly bearing, together with his father's renown, made him popular in the home districts of Picene, so that people eagerly flocked to his standard. Although only twenty-three years of age, he soon found himself in command of a considerable force, and when Sylla met him he was already recognized as a general of no small repute.

CHAPTER XXIV

SECOND CIVIL WAR.—SYLLA'S DREADFUL PROSCRIPTIONS.

—DICTATORSHIP OF SYLLA.—CAREER OF POMPEY AND CRASSUS.—SERTORIUS.—GLADIATORIAL WAR OF SPARTACUS.—JULIUS CÆSAR.

83 B.C.—67 B.C.

SYLLA drove the consul Norbanus behind the intrenchments at Capua, and advanced to intercept the consul Scipio.

Young Pompey, who had already beaten the enemy in several skirmishes, appeared in the camp to pay his respects to Sylla, saluting him as Imperator. But Sylla, at the same moment dismounting, anticipated Pompey, greeting the young general with the same distinguished appellation. It is said that ever after when he met Pompey he uncovered his head and addressed him with this honorable title.

At Teanum Sylla tried to make terms with Scipio, but Sertorius, remembering that Carbo had once said that in Sylla they had to contend with a fox as well as a lion, and that as the former he was more dangerous than as the latter, prevented him. Sylla indeed had already succeeded in corrupting Scipio's men, who, when he appeared, went over to him in a body.

Sylla spent the rest of the year in gaining influence in central Italy. Norbanus and Scipio being disposed of, Carbo became all-powerful at Rome, and in his third consulship, Marius' son, a youth of twenty, was taken as a colleague, with the hope that the name

of Marius would attract the wavering element to his side. Nevertheless, the most distinguished citizens were deserting Rome every day for Sylla's camp in Campania.

In the spring of 82 Sylla was spurred on to a desperate conflict with young Marius near Setia by a dream in which he saw old Marius warning his son of disaster ahead. At last a large portion of Marius' army joined Sylla, and the latter fled to Præneste, where he was taken up by a rope over the walls, since the gates were closed in anticipation of Sylla's approach.

Young Marius, knowing Sylla's influence, sent a message to the prætor at Rome to have all Sylla's friends put to death, and their bodies thrown into the Tiber, the Pontifex Scævola being among those mentioned. This order had scarcely been executed when Sylla's army appeared before Rome.

In the meantime the Samnites and Lucanians under Caius Pontius of Telesia, called Telesinus, had united with young Marius; and this force of intrepid mountaineers, having formed a junction with Carbo's shattered army, together with all the united forces on the Marian side in Italy, poured down the Latin road to Rome and encamped by nightfall on the last day of October, 82 B.C., before the Colline Gate. But Crassus, Pompey, Metellus and Servilius, Sylla's lieutenants, had also been universally successful, and they too all appeared before the city.

The citizens had passed the night before in an agony of suspense, the women running about the streets wringing their hands, it being evident that Rome would fall into the hands of Sylla the next day.

Telesinus told his men in the streets that the last

hour for Rome had come, since "the ravenous wolves which had so long made Italy their prey would not cease their forays until utterly destroyed."

Sylla ordered an immediate attack upon Telesinus, who on a white horse was at the head of his army in the thickest of the fight, and was soon forced back, his left wing being routed. On the other hand, there was a report that Sylla was slain, and his enemies masters of the city. It is said that Sylla always wore a little golden image of Apollo in his bosom, and that when dangers thickened about him he kissed it and appealed to that god. At this moment a message came from Crassus, announcing that his right wing was coming off victorious and that the enemy were the same as already worsted, and near daybreak their triumph was assured, he having quickly formed a junction with Crassus. This famous battle of the Colline Gate, in August, 82 B.C., ended the Civil War. The brave Pontius Telesinus was among the fifty thousand men who had fallen. His head, and those of the Roman officers who had been put to death by Sylla, were mounted on spearheads and sent to decorate the walls of Præneste. Young Marius tried to escape from Præneste, by a subterranean passage in company with a brother of Telesinus; but, finding this obstructed, they slew each other according to agreement. Præneste was then given up to Sylla.

On the third day after the battle Sylla summoned the Senate to meet outside the walls in the Temple of Bellona, and the Senators on proceeding to business were struck with astonishment at the sound of agonized cries outside. It was the shrieks of three thousand Samnite prisoners, who had been promised pardon if they would fight with Sylla. This they had

done, and had slain with their own hands hundreds of their fellow-soldiers. Sylla, however, had perfidiously collected these, with six thousand others, in the Circus Flaminius and caused them to be cut to pieces. When the cries were heard Sylla continued his discourse, saying that the noise was only the screams of some criminals who were being cut to pieces by his order.

Sylla now entered the city in complete triumph, promising to reward the obedient; and many thought that he had a spark of compassion in his heart and would protect the rights of the people. Nevertheless, all who had in any way opposed him were doomed; for he began immediately to kill and destroy, without mercy, even giving up to the personal revenge of his followers many against whom he himself had no private grudge. At last one of the young nobility dared to question him in the Senate, saying: "Tell us, Sylla, when we shall have an end of our calamities, how far thou wilt proceed, and when we may hope that thou wilt stop? We do not ask thee to spare those whom thou hast marked out for punishment, but we beg for an exemption from anxiety for those whom thou hast determined to save." Sylla told him that he did not yet know whom he should save. Then they asked him whom he intended to destroy, and he answered that they would soon know.

A formal list, called the proscription, was now made out and posted up in the Forum, all persons being authorized to kill any whose name was found there. First there were eighty names and then two hundred and twenty, and each day more were added. Sylla then said that he could remember no others, but that the rest would be put on a future proscription. Two talents was the reward for the deed, and was paid

alike to the slave who slew his master, or to the son who killed his father. All who sheltered the proscribed, or helped them to escape, shared their fate, until even wives deserted their husbands. Sylla permitted his friends to put the names of their enemies, or those whose property they desired, on the fatal list. Accordingly, the wealthy were in the majority, one person of high degree being heard to say: "My Alban villa has brought me to this." Catiline was among the most iniquitous in these proceedings; and even put the names of the men he had already murdered on the proscribed list in order to get their property, one of the victims being his own brother.

With characteristic brutality, Sylla had all the memorials and trophies, recording the great triumphs of Marius, destroyed; and the remains of the old warrior were taken from their sepulcher and scattered broadcast. The head of young Marius was cut off and sent to Rome; and Sylla, gazing on the youthful face, said: "Those who take the helm of the ship must first learn to propel it."

This "Reign of Terror" was extended to all the cities which had taken part with the Marians. At Præneste twelve hundred were collected and slaughtered together, while the town was given up to promiscuous plunder. Carbo, having crossed over to the Island of Cossyra on his way to Egypt, was brought in chains to Pompey, then in Sicily, who had orders to cut off his head and send it to Rome.

Sylla now caused the office of dictator, which had been suspended for one hundred and twenty years, to be revived, naming himself as the most suitable person for the position. He appointed Flaccus his master of horse, and, on assuming the duties of the office, revived

old Roman forms, appearing in public with twenty-four lictors. It is not recorded in history that more absolute power was ever given to any one man; for Sylla was authorized to make laws, to confiscate property, distribute public lands, destroy old colonies, found new ones, to transfer the scepters of dependent monarchies from one claimant to another, and to put all citizens whom he saw fit to death. Notwithstanding an old decree forbidding any general who had already entered the city with his troops to enjoy any kind of an ovation, on the January of the year 81 B.C. Sylla celebrated his triumph in honor of his victories in the Mithridatic War, Greece having orders to suspend her Olympian Games that her athletes might exhibit their skill to the Roman people. After the celebration Sylla recounted his great deeds and good fortune, requesting that henceforth he might be called "Felix," and that an equestrian statue might be set up in his honor with the inscription: "*Cornelii Sulli, Imperatori Felici.*"

According to custom, Sylla summoned the Comitia for election of consuls, but he cut down any who offered themselves for that position without his permission, so that this chief office of the State was soon represented by nonentities.

One of Sylla's first measures in remodeling the Constitution was to deprive even the children and grandchildren of the proscribed of their civic rights forever. The sale of their property which followed was most unfair, the chief bidders being almost exclusively Sylla's favorites. He used to call it "selling his booty." Cicero relates an amusing story about the poet Archias, who handed an epigram to Sylla as he was presiding over one of these auctions. Sylla



JULIUS CÆSAR.

laughed and gave the order that a certain portion of the proceeds should be given to the poet on the condition that he should write no more rhymes.

Sylla rewarded his soldiers to the number of ten thousand with lands and titles; but while squandering this property they became a terror to the community. Another ten thousand, formerly slaves of the proscribed, Sylla promoted to the rank of citizens, calling them *Cornelii*, from his name. This soldiery, all from low stock, introduced a Latin dialect; and from this date the decay of distinct nationality was rapid. By the character of his legislation Sylla prepared the way for the monarchy.

In introducing measures calculated to give an aristocratic quality to the Constitution and to restore it to its state before the time of the Gracchi, Sylla filled the ranks of the Senate, decimated by his proscriptions, from his own adherents, mostly from the wealthy and influential class; and to these he gave the government of provinces. In order to render the source for filling vacancies in the Senate greater, he raised the number of *quæstors* from eight to twenty.

Among others, Sylla induced Pompey to divorce his wife and marry his own step-daughter, *Æmilia*, the daughter of *Scaurus*; but there was a young man, a youth of nineteen years, who could not be bribed. This was *Caius Julius Cæsar*. He had married *Cornelia*, daughter of *Cinna*, and absolutely refused to part with the wife whom he loved. He was also a nephew of *Julia*, *Marius'* wife, and everything together came near costing him his life, so that he was obliged to keep in hiding for many months. Sylla, when interviewed, said that he would not spare him, since "in that boy he could see many *Mariuses*."

At first Sylla refused a triumph to Pompey for his various victories, on the ground of his not having filled the proper routine of office; and besides Pompey was only twenty-five years old. But when Pompey told him to remember that more people worshiped the rising than the setting sun, Sylla, seeing how popular he was, said: "Well then, let the boy triumph." Some say that it was at this time that the title of "The Great" was given to Pompey by Sylla, and some think that he was called so by his army; while others contend that the appellation was not in general use until he was sent to Spain. Later in his letters and edicts he was accustomed to sign himself "Pompey the Great." It was the practice of the old Romans to give the title of Maximus to their distinguished men in recognition of their great qualities and for military achievements.

Cicero, who had lived in retirement during the conflicts of the Civil War, commenced his brilliant career in 81 B.C. His Second Oration was in favor of Sextus Roscius against one of Sylla's freedmen. He made himself famous by pounding Sylla's favorite, while at the same time he dexterously exonerated Sylla himself by saying that the great gods were obliged to admit the existence of suffering and pain in the universe. After this, however, Cicero thought it best to travel in Greece for a few years out of Sylla's way, devoting himself to literary and philosophic studies.

In 79 B.C. Sylla ascended the Rostra and laid down his dictator's office, which he had held for two years. He then walked about the Forum as a private gentleman, challenging anyone to complain of the way he had executed his trust; but there was no one to respond; for those of his opponents who had not

returned to dust and ashes were among the disfranchised and exiled and had no place in the Assembly. After this a calm settled all over Italy.

Sylla left Rome forever and sought in his villa at Pozzuoli that which he found sweeter than power or renown, a life of luxurious enjoyment in the company of students and literary men, as well as mimics and jesters, no one being admitted to him in his retirement except to serve his pleasure. He died at the age of sixty years, worn out by a life of dissipation and self-indulgence. Though inferior to Marius as a general, in politics he had no rival. Unlike most politicians, he desired wealth and power only as a means, his real end being personal gratification. In his "Memoirs," written in twenty-two books, and finished two days before his death, the story of his deeds is colored by a selfish sense of his own magnificence; and, in closing, he declares that he has been fortunate and all-powerful to the last hours of his life. He wrote his own epitaph, in which he said that he had never failed to reward a friend or take vengeance on an enemy.

Though Sylla's enemies, together with Lepidus, opposed it, the Senate, through the influence of Pompey, voted Sylla a gorgeous funeral, and his body was carried to the Campus Martius preceded by the Magistrates, the Senate, the Equites, the Vestal Virgins and the Cornelian veterans. There it was burned in order that no future tyrant should treat it with dishonor, as he had that of Marius.

Sylla had introduced into the Roman system the seeds of decay, and the last stage of the decline and fall of the Republic commenced under his brutal administration.

Quintus Catulus, the son of that Catulus who fought

with the elder Marius, was a candidate for the consulship in 99 B.C., while Marcus Æmilius Lepidus was supported as his colleague, among others, by young Pompey. Sylla had warned Pompey against Lepidus, but the latter paid no heed to it, and scarcely were Sylla's ashes "placed in their urn" before Lepidus took a stand as head of the popular party and began to annul Sylla's laws. He subjected much of Italy and was supreme in Cisalpine Gaul; and when the Senate summoned him to Rome Lepidus responded at the head of an army, in defiance of an oath promising to refrain from arms. Catulus and Pompey, however, scattered his forces, and he was obliged to flee to Sardinia, where he died shortly after. His lieutenants, Perperna and Junius Brutus, carried off the remnant of his soldiers to fight in Spain.

Spain, under Quintus Sertorius, soon became a dangerous place for the Syllan party. The Marian leaders joined Sertorius, who fought many battles and became so formidable that Metellus and Pompey together were unable to crush him. His fame spread to Rome, and finally to all parts of the world, until he was considered the greatest general of his time. For, with less than seven thousand men, he carried on war against four Roman generals, in command of more than one hundred and fifty thousand troops; and with so trifling a force he subdued several great nations and took many cities.

The Spanish, besides entertaining an affection for Sertorius on account of his kindness to them, felt a superstitious regard for him on account of a white fawn, which he tamed, and which was thought to possess supernatural qualities. He also had great influence over the Spanish, through some noble youths,

whom he collected from all the nations and gathered into a school at Osca, holding them as hostages for the good behavior of their elders. These wore the Roman dress, gowns bordered with purple; and he added the Greek and Latin languages to their curriculum. Sertorius was the first statesman who recognized education as a factor in the government; and he was a man of so much honor that Mithridates tried in vain to bribe him to join with him against the Romans.

So much power, however, soon enervated Sertorius' character; and, sinking into self-indulgence, he came to suspect the loyalty of some of the Spaniards; so that, in a moment of anger, he had a part of the beautiful youths in his school put to death and others sold as slaves. This alone would have cost him his life had not Perperna joined in a conspiracy against him; and, at a public banquet, where he was not able to defend himself, he was pierced with many wounds.

The conspirators, former friends of Sertorius, now deserted Perperna and had him taken prisoner. He tried to gain capital with Pompey by delivering up documents from men of consular dignity in Rome, inviting Sertorius back into Italy. But Pompey threw the letters into the fire unopened, and ordered Perperna with all his accomplices to be put to death, lest the names of those who wrote the letters should be revealed, and civil war renewed.

During the year that Sertorius was assassinated, 73 B.C., what was called the War of Spartacus, or the War of the Gladiators, broke out. Spartacus, by birth a Thracian, had served earlier as a Roman soldier, but, wrought up by excessive cruelties, he left the army and became a brigand, being among the

gladiators in training at Capua, "to make sport for their captors."

Spartacus, in a speech to his companions, is made by one of our New England writers to tell his story. "I was not always thus a hired butcher, a savage chief of savage men. My father feared Great Jupiter and brought to the rural deities his offerings of fruits and flowers. At noon I gathered my sheep beneath the shade and played upon a shepherd's flute. I had a friend, the son of our neighbor; we led our flocks to the same pasture and shared together our rustic meal. . . . One night the clash of steel was heard within our quiet vale. The breast that nourished me was trampled by the iron hoof of the Roman war-horse; the bleeding body of my father was flung among the blazing rafters of our dwelling—to-day I killed a man in the arena; and when I broke his helmet-clasps, behold! he was my friend. He knew me—smiled faintly—gasped and died. The same sweet smile was on his lips that I had marked upon his face when in adventurous boyhood we scaled some lofty cliffs to pluck the first wild grapes and bear them home in childish triumph. When I told the prætor that he was my friend, noble and brave, and begged his body to burn upon the funeral pile, he told me there were no noble men but Romans. If ye are men, follow me, or is the old Grecian spirit frozen in your veins? Oh! comrades, warriors, Thracians! If we must fight, let us fight for ourselves, or if we must die, let us die under the open sky by the bright waters in noble, honorable battle."

There were about seventy of these gladiators, who stationed themselves on Mount Vesuvius, where Spartacus was joined by slaves and outlaws. A large army

was formed, and, using the gladiators as officers, he kept all under perfect control. Spartacus became strong enough to take the offensive; and, though at first he had only intended to escape from Italy with his followers, at the head of one hundred thousand men he penetrated the passes of the Apennines, where he defeated both of the consuls of that year. The Senate held them in great fear, and Spartacus was so noted that Horace refers to his ravages in some lines where he promises a friend a jar of wine made at the time of the First Social War, if he could find one that had escaped the clutches of Spartacus.

Rome at this time was divided into three parties, at the head of which were Pompey, Crassus, and Cæsar. The conservative and prudent were for Pompey, the violent faction was for Cæsar, while Crassus took a middle course and tried to be friendly with both; but the latter was never a trustworthy friend, and often changed sides. Though he lived in a house which had cost a quarter of a million dollars, Crassus himself had erected no buildings; for, remembering the old proverb which says: "Fools build houses for wise men to live in," he had bought the estates that the proscribed in the time of Sylla had sacrificed at ruinous rates, and he, much to the detriment of his reputation, had thus become master of a great part of Rome. He also owned silver mines and his large number of slaves, whom he let out as writers, silversmiths and stewards, added greatly to his income. Crassus only desired riches for the reputation wealth would give him, and often remarked that no man ought to consider himself wealthy who could not, out of his revenue, support an army. Though not learned, he had so carefully educated himself, and at the same time so successfully

cultivated oratory, that he exerted great influence by his speeches from the Rostra.

After Crassus was elected prætor he took the field with six new legions against Spartacus, and defeated him. The latter eluded him several times, but in a final conflict three thousand of Spartacus' men died most gloriously, and Spartacus fought desperately on, until overpowered by numbers. Six thousand more were afterwards seized by Crassus, and hung along the road from Rome to Capua, while five thousand marched northward, and were slain by Pompey.

Although Crassus deserved the credit for the success of the late war, he had to content himself with an ovation, while Pompey celebrated a triumph; for the latter claimed the honor of finishing up the War of the Gladiators, just as he had done in connection with Metellus, with respect to the war with Sertorius. On account of legal technicalities, neither was entitled to the consulship, but the Senate did not dare to refuse it to Pompey, because he had a large army outside, nor could they deny it to Crassus, who not only had a big standing force, but had gained the support of the people by entertaining them at ten thousand tables and by giving them a supply of corn for many months.

Thus Sylla's laws were ignored, and both men were chosen; and on the Calends of January, 70 B.C., Pompey and Crassus entered upon their never-to-be-forgotten consulship.

Cicero had returned to Rome in 77 B.C., eager for political distinction. At an early age he had lost his taste for military life and devoted himself to forensic pursuits. He soon became celebrated through seven most noble orations against Caius Verres, only two of which were delivered. Cicero's eloquence is best

illustrated perhaps, in the case of Quintus Ligarius, proconsul in Africa, who had been prosecuted for taking up arms against Cæsar. The latter said: "Can we not enjoy the pleasure once again of listening to Cicero's impassioned words, since I have made up my mind in advance that Ligarius is a thoroughly bad man, besides being my enemy?" But Cicero's defense was so full of burning eloquence, pathos and charm, that Cæsar, changing color, at first dropped his papers; and, finally, when the Battle of Pharsalia was touchingly referred to, conquered by the great orator's eloquence, he acquitted the proconsul.

Many of Cicero's humorous sayings which have come down to us are the aphorisms of a genius. For instance, Crassus at one time remarked that none of his family ever lived to be more than three score years old; but afterwards contradicted it, saying that he could not see how he should have happened to make such an assertion. Cicero told him that it was no doubt because he knew that it would be agreeable to the Roman people if his life should prove short. When Crassus was going to set out for Syria, he thought it better to leave Cicero his friend than his enemy, and accordingly he told him he would come and sup with him; and Cicero accepted the offer with politeness. A few days later Vatinius, the orator, likewise desired a reconciliation. "What," said Cicero, "does Vatinius, too, want to sup with me?"

As the end of their consulship approached Crassus' jealousy of Pompey grew in proportion to the latter's popularity, and the Senate began to fear a return of civil warfare, since both had an armed force near the city. But at the close, Caius Aurelius, a man of the Equestrian Order, stated from the Rostra that Jupiter

had commanded him in a dream to tell the consuls that they must be reconciled before they laid down their office. Pompey stood silent; but Crassus came forward and giving him his hand in a friendly manner, addressed the people in these words: "My fellow-citizens! I deem it not a dishonorable act to make the first advances to Pompey, to whom you so long ago, while he was still a beardless youth, gave the name of The Great, and for whom you voted two triumphs before he was a Senator." Thus they were reconciled.

Crassus continued his former mode of life, but Pompey, by degrees, left the bar. When he appeared in public it was always with a following, so that it was not easy either to speak to him or see him. This suited him, since he thought too much familiarity bred contempt; for he had noticed that military leaders, like Marius, often lost respect in time of peace.

There was, shadowing these great demagogues, a man who by political arts gained greater influence during the next quarter of a century than any man of his age. This distinguished figure was Julius Cæsar. He had married to please his father when he was very young, but as soon as the latter died, to please himself he contracted a marriage with Cornelia, the daughter of Cinna, whom, as we have seen, he had disdainfully refused to give up at Sylla's command. After this, not feeling secure, he sought safety at Rhodes, where he spent his time in the study of oratory.

On his way thither he was captured off Miletus by the pirates. These buccaneers had for years infested the Mediterranean Sea with their thousand galleys; and, besides demanding heavy ransom for citizens seized, had robbed sacred temples and made it unsafe for even the nobles to drive to their seaside villas, or

for the merchant to engage in commercial pursuits. The enemies of Rome, in their raids among the cities along the coast, had made an alliance with these pirates, "who dyed their sails with Tyrian purple, and inlaid their oars with silver and spread gold on their pennants." When Cæsar was first taken they demanded only twenty talents for his ransom, since they did not know who he was; but he promised them fifty talents; and to raise the money he despatched his retinue, keeping with him only one friend and two servants.

Although these Sicilian pirates considered murder only a trifle, Cæsar lorded it over them, and during the thirty-eight days that he was with them he treated them as though they were his attendants rather than his keepers, even sending them word to keep silence when he wanted to go to sleep. With a feeling of perfect security he joined in their diversions and took exercise among them, wrote poems and orations and rehearsed them, and when they received those literary effusions without enthusiasm, he called them dunces and barbarians, and often threatened to crucify them as soon as he should get a chance. Instead of being offended, they were delighted with this frank and humorous vein. Finally fifty talents (fifty thousand dollars) were brought to Miletus, and Cæsar recovered his liberty. Then he manned some vessels in that port, seized the pirates—lying unsuspectingly at anchor near by—together with the money paid for his ransom, and, although the government wished to sell them into slavery, he spared them such prolonged humiliation, and had them crucified.

In the year 67 B.C. Pompey proposed that a commander should be appointed for three years with abso-

lute power over the sea and the coast for fifty miles inland; and, he seeming to be the fittest person, the authority was conferred by acclamation upon him. Plutarch says that he ruled not as an admiral, but as a monarch. He divided the sea into thirteen parts, and enclosed the freebooters as in a net with his fleet, so that within forty days he had brought them to terms. He captured the most of them, twenty thousand in number, and obliged the rest to take refuge in their castles. Many of his prisoners he settled in peaceful pursuits in depopulated cities far from the sea.

CHAPTER XXV

THIRD MITHRIDATIC WAR.—POMPEY'S RETURN.—
CICERO'S ORATIONS AGAINST CATILINE.—CICERO'S
BANISHMENT AND RETURN.—FIRST TRIUMVIRATE.—
CÆSAR'S CAREER.—POMPEY BREAKS WITH CÆSAR.

67 B.C.—49 B.C.

POMPEY now represented the oligarchy and Cicero and Crassus the aristocracy, while Cæsar was foremost among the Marian party, the former opponents of Sylla; and Catiline led the faction composed of those warriors, to whom Sylla had allotted land throughout Italy, but who were ever impatient to again engage in strife.

No portion of Pompey's life was so full of activity as these years; for this was the time immediately preceding his marriage with Julia, the young and beautiful daughter of Cæsar. After this he was wont to indulge in listless enjoyment of domestic life, roving from one villa to another in Italy with his young wife; and, bound "with silver fetters," he left his provinces and armies entirely to his friends and lieutenants. This strong attachment for Julia comes out in all his acts during her life, and her fondness for him was a fascinating romance, springing doubtless from the charm of his perfect fidelity to her, a feature rare in those days.

As early as 73 B.C. Mithridates, who had never really been conquered, entered into a new war. Lucius Licinius Lucullus, having at last been given command of the expedition against him, with the greatest

sagacity broke the power of that great monarch, defeating him and finally putting him to a dastardly flight. Besides this, Lucullus had established efficient laws in Asia and set up a general reign of peace, and he might have closed all hostilities creditably had he been sufficiently reinforced; but in spite of all his great deeds Pompey superseded him and was appointed dictator with unlimited power over the East, which gave him the most extensive authority conferred on any Roman citizen since that given to Sylla.

When Pompey was congratulated by his friends upon his advancement over Lucullus, he knit his brows and said: "How much better to be one of the undistinguished than to be perpetually engaged in war. Can I never fly from envy to a rural retreat, to domestic happiness and to conjugal endearments?" No one, however, believed in these sentiments, for they knew that the flame of his ambition was then at its greatest height, and that he really rejoiced in his pre-ferment over Lucullus.

About this time Cicero made Pompey the theme of his first Panegyric, a splendid encomium of the "rising orator to the greatest general."

To settle personal differences Pompey and Lucullus were advised to meet at Galatia, where the servants of Lucullus, out of courtesy, crowned the rods of Pompey's lictors with fresh laurels. Although Pompey was gratified by this act of politeness, the two generals soon came to haughty words, Pompey telling Lucullus that the latter's engagements were only mock battles, and that he had fought only with the shadows of kings; while Lucullus retorted that it was nothing new for Pompey to contend with phantoms of war, for he was doing with him as he was in the habit of

acting when he had arrogated the conquests of Sertorius, Lepidus, and Spartacus.

Pompey planned his campaign with so much skill that he cut Mithridates off from assistance by sea; and, since the terms were unconditional surrender, that monarch was forced again to flee. As they were escaping into the impenetrable mountain regions near the Euxine Sea, Mithridates bestowed upon each of his friends a quantity of poison, that none of them, against his will, might come alive into the enemy's hands.

In response to the invitation of Tigranes the Younger, Pompey came into Armenia, and Tigranes the Elder, who had lately been defeated by Lucullus, yielded himself up and laid his diadem at Pompey's feet. The latter then told them that he could not restore Syria, Phœnicia, Cilicia, Galatia, and Sophene, which Tigranes had lost through Lucullus, but that the latter could keep what he still held by paying the Romans a fine of six thousand talents. The elder Tigranes was delighted at this generosity, but the young Tigranes objecting, he was reserved in chains for the triumph.

Pompey celebrated the Saturnalia of 65 B.C. on the river Cyrus; and, learning that Mithridates was beyond his reach, he spent the winter in making alliances with the tribes on the southern slope of the Caucasus. In the summer of 64 B.C. he descended into Cappadocia to Antioch, where all the country below the Taurus submitted to him.

After a siege of three months, in the face of great opposition, Pompey entered Jerusalem as a conqueror. He forbade all plunder, but, like all Roman idolators, he pierced the veil of the Holy of Holies, which the

priest lifted but once a year. He did not return to Rome until Armenia, Syria, Phœnicia, and Palestine were subdued and he had established many cities and had organized the frontier of the Roman possessions from the Euxine to the river Jordan.

While he was in Palestine Pompey received news which recalled him. Mithridates was dead. The soldiers, seeing by the garlands on the points of the messengers' spears that the tidings were something unusual, were too impatient to raise the tribunal of turf according to the common practice, but, having placed a number of pack saddles one upon another, they persuaded Pompey to mount the pile and read the glorious tidings. Disheartened by seeing his last chance cut off in the revolt of his son Pharnaces, Mithridates had put an end to his own life. Pompey ordered his remains to be taken to Sinope, where they were honored with a royal burial and placed in the sepulcher of his fathers.

Pompey left Asia early in 62 B.C., but did not arrive in Rome until the beginning of the year 61, where he found all dismayed at his coming for fear he would return with his troops and make himself absolute. When the people heard that Pompey had disbanded his army outside the city, they were so gratified, and turned out in such numbers to attend him, that had he risen against the State he would have needed no army. He then told them not to appear again until he sent for them to observe his splendid triumph, which happened the last day of the following September.

With this celebration ended the most glorious part of Pompey's life. He was not quite forty years old, and Plutarch says: "Happy would it have been

for him if he had closed his days like Alexander at the height of his glory"; for from this time "every instance of success brought its proportionate envy, and every false step became irretrievable"; and Cæsar, who had advanced by his influence, turned that power upon Pompey himself.

In Pompey's triumphal procession, over three hundred captive princes walked before his chariot; and he exhibited placards declaring that he had captured a thousand fortresses, two hundred cities, scores of small towns, and eight hundred ships, besides founding thirty-nine incorporated towns. By such means he raised the public revenue from fifty million drachmas to eighty-five million. Pontus, Armenia, Cappadocia, Paphlagonia, Media, Colchis, the Iberians, Syria, Cilicia, Mesopotamia, Phœnicia, Palestine, Judæa, Arabia and the pirates subdued by sea and land were represented in the procession. There also walked in the train the son of Tigranes, King of Armenia, together with his wife and daughter, and Zosima, wife of Tigranes himself.

Pompey had been absent from Italy six years, and now found the political outlook greatly changed. Cicero was still friendly, but Cato, the grandson of the old censor, persistently opposed him. Crassus and Lucullus were his personal enemies, and Cæsar, while still pretending to be Pompey's ally, had managed to arrange things so that the latter must take a secondary position in the State.

When Pompey had taken command against the pirates in 67 B.C., Cæsar, in his third term at the age of thirty-three, was serving as quæstor in Spain. It was at this time that the latter, when found weeping over the history of Alexander the Great, said: "I

have great cause of concern; since Alexander at my age reigned over many conquered countries, and I have not so much as one glorious achievement of which to boast."

In the intervening years since that time Cæsar, in one way and another, had gained much public sympathy and the reputation of being a man of sweet disposition and great goodness of heart, besides excelling in the domestic and social virtues. The polished and eloquent funeral orations delivered over his aunt Julia and his beloved wife Cornelia had helped his literary fame, and, besides this, he grew in favor on account of his great ability.

At this period he had the bust and trophies of Marius, long preserved among his heirlooms, exhibited for the first time since Sylla had thrown them down. One morning at daybreak the people of Rome were astonished to see these memorials, so long fallen in the dust, now restored "glistening with gold and of the most exquisite workmanship," the inscriptions on them pointing out the achievements of Marius against the Cimbri, and his successes in other conflicts. The spectators were astonished at Cæsar's boldness, and the partisans of Marius, "running to the Capitol in vast numbers, made it echo with their plaudits, some of them weeping for joy at the sight of Marius' countenance." Others complained of the tyranny of Cæsar, and Catulus accused him of assaulting the Constitution by bringing forth commemorative records which the laws had condemned to darkness and oblivion.

In the year 66 B.C. there occurred that conspiracy made memorable by the writings of Cicero and Sallust. Catiline, already infamous as a partisan of Sylla at the time of the proscriptions, was now, as ever,

ready to ruin his country in order to gratify his hate and political ambition.

Notwithstanding his desperate character, Catiline's personal attractions gave him great ascendancy over all who came in contact with him; for he was endowed with frank manners, and was never known to desert a friend. Indeed, his worst qualities so nearly resembled virtues that he deceived everyone, and it sometimes seemed that he also deceived himself.

To quiet suspicion Catiline for a time quitted Rome, leaving behind him Lentulus and Cethegus to conduct the conspiracy. Some have thought that Cæsar and Crassus were both privy to the designs of Catiline, and that if he had succeeded Crassus was to have been dictator.

The plot failed through the boldness of the conspirators and the skill of Cicero, who had been able to gain convincing proof as to the impending murder of the Senate and the principal citizens, and the burning of the city. It was to be set on fire in twelve places at once, and already arms were stored in the house of Cethegus. When Catiline had appointed a day for carrying his plot into execution, three of the first and greatest personages of Rome, Marcus Crassus, Marcus Marcellus, and Metellus Scipio, came and knocked at Cicero's door about midnight. Among letters addressed to different persons, Crassus had read one directed to himself, which contained information of the great massacre intended by Catiline. He did not open the rest; but they were all read before the Senate at daybreak and gave the same account of the conspiracy as the one to Crassus. The next morning Cicero hurled the first of his four invectives against Catiline. The latter rose to reply, but the indignation of the

people was so furious that he was glad to rush out, and immediately joined his adherents as an open enemy of the State.

Cicero next delivered his Second Oration beginning: "*Quousque tandem abutere,*" etc. (How long, O Catiline, wilt thou abuse?), telling of the attempted flight of Catiline to Gaul and of all the circumstances which had been discovered. The other nine conspirators, having confessed their treachery, were thrown into the Mamertine Prison, then the Tullianum, and afterwards strangled in their cells. After these had been put to death Cicero laid down the consular authority amid the plaudits of the people, who with their leaders, Cato and Catulus, hailed him as the Savior of His Country. Catiline, in his attempted escape with a small army, was finally surrounded by a Roman force and killed in battle.

Cicero's vanity deprived him of the influence which he might otherwise have exerted. In his speeches he would frequently refer to himself, with the words: "I am the savior of Rome, I am the Father of my Country." He also wrote to Pompey, comparing his triumph over Catiline with Pompey's Eastern campaign. On laying down his consulship he was prevented from again rehearsing his great deeds, but he could not be hindered from reiterating that he alone had preserved the Republic. The people cheered him, but never after raised him to power. Soon after he was condemned, through the influence of Pompey, Cæsar and Crassus, for putting to death the conspirators of Catiline without due form of law.

When Cicero was summoned to answer the charge, he put on mourning and let his hair grow long, while twenty thousand of the best families, together with

the Equestrian Order, entreated the people for him, in black with their hair disheveled. This spectacle, however, excited no compassion whatever. Even Pompey, for whom Cicero had fought such moral battles, was obliged, since he had just married Cæsar's daughter, to ignore his former obligations to his injured friend, going surreptitiously out of a back door to avoid Cicero's presence.

Finally Cicero took down from his own walls a much-prized statue of Minerva, and carrying it to the Capitol, dedicated it with the inscription: "To Minerva, the Protector of Rome"; and at midnight he secretly left the city.

Clodius, who as tribune was all-powerful in Rome, immediately issued a decree of banishment, by which Cicero was declared a public enemy, and every citizen was forbidden to give him fire or water within five hundred miles of the Eternal City. But the great orator was held in such veneration by the people that he was conducted on his way with the most cordial attention, and without any regard being paid to the decree, until Caius Virginius, the prætor of Sicily, though under great obligations to him, forbade him to set foot upon the island. Then Cicero sailed round to Brindisi, and, casting longing looks toward Italy, embarked for Dyrrhachium, a port in Greece. Clodius burned Cicero's villa and his beautiful palace on the Palatine, erecting there a temple to Liberty; and he also confiscated all his property and destroyed his country-seats at Formiæ and Tusculum.

Cæsar, in the meantime, had been quietly and effectively pushing himself to the front. He gave up his governorship in Spain about the time Pompey came back from the East, and in 60 B.C. made an arrange-

ment with Crassus and Pompey to control the home government. In this coalition, known as the First Triumvirate, each of the Triumviri pledged himself not to speak or act except to subserve the interests of all; and by means of it Cæsar without difficulty obtained the object of his desire, the consulship. In order to lay the basis of future popularity, he, while consul, proposed an Agrarian law, which was the last of the kind, and placed the distribution of lands in the hands of Pompey and Crassus.

Cicero was recalled sixteen months after his banishment, and was received with so much eagerness by all ranks of people that he did not more than express the truth when he said "that Italy had brought him on her shoulders to Rome." Crassus, although formerly his enemy, now greeted him on the way, and they were again friends; while the Senate voted funds to enable him to restore his ruined property. One of his first acts was to go up to the Capitol and destroy the Tribunitian tables in which all the acts of Clodius' time were recorded. This displeased Cato the Younger, and although they did not come to open rupture, their friendship cooled. This remarkable man was the grandson of Cato, the old censor, and only lacked his political shrewdness. He was now thirty-seven years old, five years younger than Cæsar, of many of whose measures he did not approve, and was one of the leaders of the Senatorial oligarchy who had determined the fate of Catiline.

Cicero, during his consulship, had endeavored to effect a union between the Senate and the Knights, and Cæsar now proceeded to establish himself with the latter. Sixty years before this time the Romans had taken possession of the little strip of Gaul south

of the Alps, but they had made no effort to gain a region to the north and west.

The Senate now invested Cæsar with the government of Cisalpine Gaul and Illyricum, and, as Governor of Gaul, he entered upon a wonderful career of military triumph which lasted nine years. Plutarch says: "Whether we compare him with the Fabii, the Scipios or the Metelli, or those who flourished a little before him—with Sylla, Marius or the two Luculli—or with Pompey himself, whose fame in every military excellence reached the skies, Cæsar's achievements bear away the palm; for one he surpassed in the difficulty of the scene of action, another in the extent of the countries he subdued, this one in the number and strength of the barbarous enemy he overcame and humanized, another one in mildness and clemency to his prisoners, and again in the bounty and munificence to his troops, and all in the number of battles that he won and enemies that he killed. For in less than ten years in Gaul he took eight hundred cities by assault, conquered three hundred nations and fought pitched battles at different times with five millions of men. The affection of his soldiers was such that they, who under other commanders were nothing above the common rate of men, became invincible when Cæsar's glory was concerned; and under him they met the greatest perils and dangers with a courage that nothing could resist."

Cæsar, anxious to gain laurels, made himself master of the country of the Helvetii, modern Switzerland, at a place on the Rhine not far from Basle. He also defeated the Germans under their famous general, Ariovistus, at the same time subjecting the Belgian Confederacy, and sacrificing thousands of barbarians,

in order to extend Roman civilization. Cæsar here shared the dangers to which his soldiers were exposed and astonished them by his patience under toil, to all appearance far above his strength. In order that rest might not interfere with business, he took his snatches of sleep on the march in a chariot or litter. He was so good a horseman in early years that he could sit a horse at full speed with his hands behind him, and was accustomed to dictate all business letters to secretaries as he rode, often requiring three men for the work. At this time he traveled so fast that he reached the Rhone in eight days after setting out from Rome. When his war dispatches announcing his triumph reached the city, the Senate ordained that a great public thanksgiving lasting fifteen days should be celebrated.

In the April of 56 B.C. Cæsar located himself near the Po under the shadows of the Apennines, about two hundred miles from Rome, and invited Pompey and Crassus, who had fallen out during his absence, to meet him. Great numbers came from Rome, especially from the Senate, to pay their respects to him; and many were rewarded by him for the part they had taken in insuring his greatness. It was here that the Triumviri agreed that Pompey should rule Spain, Crassus Syria, and Cæsar Gaul, which he had just absorbed.

On his return to Gaul in 55 B.C. he built and destroyed the famous bridge over the Rhine between Coblenz and Andernach, the account of which in his Commentaries has taxed the brains of the scholar for generations. The construction of the bridge was necessarily vast and the mechanism was most adroit.

In the same year Cæsar made his first incursion

into Britain, and his second in 54 B.C.; but though for the time he subjected the people, there was little gained, since he found such wretchedness there that the conquests were not followed up. About this time Cæsar received the news that his beloved daughter Julia, the wife of Pompey, had lately died, and that her infant child had only survived her a few days. The people loved Julia so well that, desiring to show her distinguished honor, they ordered a public funeral, and had her interred in the Campus Martius. In her death the tie between Pompey and Cæsar was severed.

In the sixth year of his campaign, 52 B.C., Cæsar engaged in combat with a young general called Vercingeterix, a greater leader than the Gauls had ever brought forward. He was the first military expert to conceive the idea of laying waste his own country, in order that it might not afford subsistence to the enemy. Cæsar succeeded, however, in vanquishing him, and achieved the most wonderful act of his genius at the siege of Alesia. This changed the current of history for five hundred years, by checking the course of the barbarians. The conquered chief afterwards graced his Roman triumph. Cæsar then subdued the rest of the states, and at last Aquitania. He treated the Gauls with great kindness, and did all he could to induce them to adopt Roman habits and customs. In the eight years of his Gallic campaign there had been three million Gauls conquered, a fourth million butchered, and a fifth million taken captive. But Cæsar had in the process succeeded in eclipsing the conquests of Pompey the Great, and he was satisfied with the results.

On account of some gossip Cæsar had divorced his wife, Pompeia, and when asked why he had put her

away, although he did not profess to believe the stories, he made the famous reply: "Cæsar's wife must be above suspicion." He now espoused Calpurnia, daughter of Lucius Piso, a tool of the Triumvirate.

Although it had been agreed in the conference at the foot of the Apennines that Pompey should rule Spain, it suited him better to remain in Rome; for, by establishing his influence with the people there, he was able to obtain the advantage over his colleagues. Among other acts by which he courted popular favor, he opened to the public in 55 B.C. what is to-day known as Pompey's theater. It was capable of accommodating forty thousand spectators, and was the first stone theater in Rome.

After Cicero's return from exile he engaged in professional pursuits, his speeches being full of interesting allusions to the state of political affairs, but his influence had so lessened that it would have been better if he had now retired altogether from public life.

When making a speech in justification of Milo, who had been brought to trial for the death of Clodius, he was seized with stage-fright at the sight of the angry populace and the militia. On account of this, Milo was condemned and fled to Marseilles, and when Cicero sent his prepared speech to him, Milo sarcastically replied that he was glad that it had not been delivered, for if it had he should not now be eating the fine mullets of Marseilles.

Crassus, anxious to eclipse the military glory of Pompey and Cæsar, in the spring of 53 B.C. departed for the East. The Parthians, who had been growing stronger ever since the time of Mithridates, when their ruler was styled King of Kings, now held great advantage in their plains over every foe. In spite of

being warned, Crassus forced his legions, already worn out by hunger and fatigue, to confront a host of well-equipped Parthian horsemen, by whom they were utterly defeated. Young Crassus, the friend of Cicero, fearful of being taken alive, placed himself in a position to be slain. His father, Crassus the Elder, was betrayed by the perfidy of some of the mountain tribes and murdered. Caius Cassius, one of Crassus' officers, escaped with five hundred of his cavalry, and in 51 B.C. he gained such a decisive victory that he was able to hand over Parthia as a Roman province to the consul Bibulus.

Pompey, alarmed at Cæsar's increasing power, now worked with the Senate against the latter's receiving a new appointment. He had so arranged matters that Cæsar's command in Gaul would terminate two years before his in Spain, and he would thus keep his own army on foot after Cæsar had disbanded his troops. In order to thwart Cæsar more fully, he united himself with the Senate and revived an old decree that no one should again hold a province till five years from the end of his last tenure of office.

As dictator Pompey had now reached the height of his ambition, in fact, he was near gaining sovereign power. Having married the young and beautiful Cornelia, the widow of young Crassus and daughter of Metellus Scipio, he associated the latter in the consulship with himself and made up his mind to break altogether with Cæsar. Many were displeased with the match on account of the disproportion of their ages, and thought that Pompey ought to be devoting his energies to the decaying Republic instead of to the festivities of marriage.

A little before this time Pompey had had a danger-

ous illness at Naples. The Neapolitans offered sacrifices to the gods for his recovery, and great crowds poured in from the villages and ports, with garlands on their heads and torches in their hands, strewing his path with flowers. It was a most happy occasion; but it is said that he could have died just in the nick of time if he had fallen a victim to the Campanian fever, since this adulation made him too sure of his power, and was a great cause of the Second Civil War. In his contempt for Cæsar he said he could pull him down with much more ease than he had set him up, for he had only to stamp on the ground and armies would rally around him.

Cæsar, having at this time quelled the last formidable insurrection of the Gallic tribes, applied through his friends for another consulship and a continuance of his command in Gaul, in order, when his proconsular command expired, in two years, to be secure from the prosecution to which Pompey by his decrees had made him liable.

Marc Antony, a grandson of the great orator Antonius, mentioned in Marius' proscription, had been for two years with Cæsar in Gaul, and he now again appeared as his right-hand man. His uncle, Caius Antonius, had been consul with Cicero, and his mother Julia was a remote relative of Cæsar. He now came to Rome, and, in 49 B.C., when about thirty-three years of age, through Cæsar's influence, advanced from the tribunate to the augurate, recently held by the late orator, Hortensius; and henceforth Antony was ever alert in watching Cæsar's interests.

On the Calends of January, 49 B.C., letters arrived from Cæsar expressing his willingness to give up his army and return from his province, if Pompey would

do the same; otherwise he intended to look out for himself and the interests of the country.

In the Senate, Metellus Scipio, Pompey's father-in-law, made a move that Cæsar should be pronounced a public enemy, unless, on some specified day, he laid down his command; but Marc Antony, supported by Quintus Cassius Longinus, cousin of Caius Cassius, put in his vote against the measure. In order to meet this opposition a decree was passed on the 5th of January investing the consuls, who were both on the side of Pompey, with dictatorial power. In consequence of this, on the evening of the 7th of March Marc Antony was expelled from the Senate, and, disguised as a lackey, he fled from the city with Quintus Cassius, both of them seeking Cæsar in his camp. On account of their influence over Cæsar at this time Cicero said in one of his "Philippics" that Antony was the cause of the Civil War.

CHAPTER XXVI

CÆSAR CROSSES THE RUBICON.—POMPEY'S FLIGHT.—
THE BATTLE OF PHARSALIA.—CÆSAR'S TRIUMPHS.—
MARC ANTONY.

49 B.C.—45 B.C.

UPON the arrival of Antony Cæsar saw that he no longer had any choice except to sustain himself by his army or to seek flight. He still hoped that the enemy were not ready for the final combat; but Pompey knew that Cæsar had only the thirteenth legion on the Italian side of the Alps; and he also gained information that Labienus, Cæsar's first officer and chief dependence, was treacherous, and that others would follow him if the latter deserted.

Pompey himself had only the veterans scattered through Italy ready to take up arms at a moment's notice, besides the two legions, which, according to agreement, Cæsar had given up to be used in the impending Parthian War.

At the first report that Cæsar was on the move Lucius Volcatius Tullus rushed to Pompey and asked him what other forces he had. Pompey replied that he had only a body of thirty thousand men. Then Tullus said: "Oh, Pompey! you have deceived us," and one Favonius, who affected to imitate the noble freedom of Cato, said: "Now stamp upon the ground and call forth the armies you have promised." Cato, who had hitherto opposed Pompey and warned him against Cæsar, now advised that he should not only

be appointed general, but invested with discretionary power, saying: "Those who are the authors of great evils know best how to cure them." Pompey, on hearing this, exclaimed: "Cato indeed has spoken like a prophet and has acted like a friend."

Cæsar's promptness made up for his lack of preparation. On the 15th of January, the very night when the startling letters, announcing the decree of the 6th of January, arrived, he left Ravenna secretly, and crossed the Rubicon, which divided his province from Italy. At daybreak he entered Ariminium (Rimini), ten miles distant. Here he made an eloquent speech to his soldiers in the great square which still bears his name, and he learned that they were all ready to follow him. The stone upon which he stood continued to occupy the spot until replaced by the present monument, erected in 1560. The night before crossing the Rubicon, which divides Cisalpine Gaul from the rest of Italy, Cæsar had dreams foreshadowing his final tragic death; but as he approached the little river his courage rose to the emergency and he exclaimed: "The die is cast." Then with his troops he forded the historic stream. This decision became an agent in the fate of the world as well as the culminating point in his own destiny.

It was at Rimini that he met the tribunes, Marc Antony and Quintus Cassius, in their enforced flight from Rome. Regiments stationed in Transalpine Gaul received orders to follow him with all possible speed, and by the middle of the month of February he had other large reinforcements from the same region. At the beginning of the month he had become master of all Umbria and Picenum, and now felt able to invest Corfinum, a fortress in the Apennines, which Domitius

Ahenobarbus had been vigorously defending. The soldiers of the latter soon went over to Cæsar, who allowed Ahenobarbus and his Senatorial friends to depart without parole.

Pompey, not being able to gain any intelligence of Cæsar's actions, issued an edict that he should look upon those who remained in the city as friends of Cæsar. He then quitted it himself in the dusk of the evening, and the consuls and many Senators also fled, the former without the sacrifices customary before engaging in war.

By his moderation Cæsar quieted the fears of the terrified inhabitants, who were expecting the bloodshed habitual on such occasions. After appropriating money for his needs, he united the troops left in the garrisons at Corfinum to his own, and departed in pursuit of Pompey, who had hastened to Brindisi. When Cæsar arrived there on the 9th of March, 49 B.C., he was much chagrined to find that his opponent had embarked from that port with all his soldiers. Accordingly he retraced his steps to Rome, arriving there on April 1 of the same year, with the glory of having subdued Italy in sixty days, without loss of life.

Since the sea was in the hands of the Senatorial party, it was impossible to pursue Pompey, and Cæsar departed for Spain to see that the latter's veteran army did not take advantage of the situation and pour into Italy. Before autumn closed, all Spain was at his feet.

On his return Cæsar accepted a dictatorship for eleven days, and then had himself appointed consul, after which he started for Brindisi, a second time in pursuit of his rival.

On the following day, the 4th of January, 48 B.C., Cæsar landed on the coast of Epirus, where both armies remained inactive during the winter. Cæsar was waiting for Antony, who had lost several opportunities to cross the Adriatic; and, in face of the enemy's squadron, he embarked in a vessel of twelve oars, determined to recross and find out for himself what was the matter. Cæsar wore the costume of a slave, and the pilot, not knowing who he was, refused to proceed in the midst of the high sea and the tempest then raging. When, however, his passenger, much to the pilot's surprise, revealed his identity, saying: "Fear nothing, for you carry Cæsar and his fortunes," the mariners forgot the storm and plied their oars with the greatest vigor. But, having toiled all night without results, Cæsar unwillingly consented to turn back. He then sent an imperative message to Antony, chiding him for his delay; and the latter, chagrined at the rebuke, at once set sail, and after a favorable passage landed near a headland, fifty miles north of Apsus, where Cæsar succeeded in joining him before Pompey was able to make an attack.

Cæsar's soldiers, which numbered only half of Pompey's, in their great strait discovered a root which they used in the place of bread, or ate raw. They would often throw specimens of this root over the lines, saying that they would continue to besiege Pompey as long as such sustenance held out.

As spring advanced Pompey's soldiers began to suffer from lack of water, and Pompey determined to take the offensive. Several skirmishes resulted advantageously to Cæsar, but at Dyrrhachium the tide turned in favor of Pompey, and he might have conquered if he had followed up his good fortune; for

even Cæsar said: "This day's victory would have decided events had the enemy's general known how to take advantage of his success."

In order to make the most of the situation, Cæsar withdrew into Macedonia, thinking thus to draw Pompey after him and force him to flight, or crush Metellus Scipio, who had been intercepted in the spring by Cæsar's general, Domitius Calvinus; but before he could unite with Calvinus, Pompey joined Scipio near Macedonia. Pompey's soldiers now began to quarrel among themselves for the prizes which they had not yet won. Spintha, Ahenobarbus, Metellus Scipio, all claimed Cæsar's pontificate in advance, and Ahenobarbus proposed that any who had not taken an active part in the contest should be brought to trial as traitors, Cicero being the person meant; for when he found that he was not employed by Pompey to fill any conspicuous place, he had stood aloof from him. The methods of the latter to avoid a decisive battle were also criticised, the simple Favonius saying that "Pompey's reluctance to fight would hinder them from eating their figs that summer at Tusculum"; and Afranius asked Pompey why he "hesitated to fight that merchant who trafficked in provinces."

In deference to the loud and tumultuous demands for a battle, Pompey, always sensitive to ridicule, acted contrary to his better judgment, and moved southward to an eminence near the Plain of Pharsalia, where Cæsar was encamped. The night before the battle, fought on the 9th of August, 48 B.C., Pompey had an ambiguous dream. It was that he had entered his own theater and was received with loud plaudits, and that afterwards he had adorned the Temple of Venus the Victorious with many spoils. This might have

been a good omen, but since Cæsar claimed to be in the direct line from Venus, it might also portend the latter's success. Cæsar also had a dream, which signalized his victory; for at daybreak a stream of fire issued in the form of a torch from the camp of Cæsar and fell upon that of the enemy.

Cæsar was breaking up his camp, preparatory to pitching his tents in some more favorable locality, and his beasts of burden were already under way, when the scouts brought the news that the enemy were arming to give battle. Upon this, Cæsar exclaimed: "The long-wished-for day has come on which we shall fight with men and no longer with want and famine." He then ordered the red mantle to be hoisted, and the soldiers, beholding the sign of battle, advanced, taking up their arms with loud shouts of joy.

Pompey's force, consisting of raw recruits, drawn up in the Plain of Pharsalia, was double Cæsar's trained men. The latter, however, ordered his reserves to save their javelins for the close fight, discharging them at the eyes of the assailants, since he knew that Pompey's men were especially afraid of disfigurement. "Those young dancers," he said, "will never stand the steel aimed at their eyes, but will fly to save their handsome faces." This proved true; for although Pompey's cavalry at first routed the weaker squadrons of Cæsar's flank, these rallied, and, as they advanced, the soldiers raised the points of their javelins, and, according to expectation, when the young cavaliers found the blows aimed at their faces they were so afraid that their beauty would be marred that, covering their eyes with their hands, they immediately gave way.

Cæsar's love for his countrymen was still so great that in the midst of the fight he gave a general order to spare the Romans and throw all their strength upon the foreigners. When Pompey noticed that his cavalry was routed, struck with consternation, he retired to his headquarters without saying a word; and, when he saw the enemy already upon the ramparts, he cried out: "What! into my camp too?" Then, no longer remembering that he was Pompey the Great, he laid aside the insignia of his rank and made his escape, galloping through the rear gate of the camp as Cæsar's legions were making their way over the intrenchments in front. Amongst the immense booty were services of plate prepared for a banquet which was to celebrate Pompey's expected victory.

The Romans in Pompey's army gladly went over to the conqueror; and when Cæsar saw their dead lying so grimly on the field, he said sadly: "They brought upon themselves this doom." Domitius Ahenobarbus was among the fallen, and among those who submitted to Cæsar the most distinguished Roman was Marcus Junius Brutus, who from the first was much beloved by Cæsar.

Cæsar followed Pompey in hot pursuit through the Gorge of Tempe, and that great general, who had been but lately in possession of such armies and fleets, now spent the night in a poor fisherman's cabin. The next morning he went on board a vessel with a few friends, among them honest Favonius, who proved faithful to him, performing the menial offices usually left to slaves. The master of the merchant-vessel was just giving to the passengers a vivid account of a dream in which Pompey had figured the night before, when that great general himself in mean attire and with

melancholy aspect rowed up to him from the land, the crew making signs and stretching out their hands just as the captain had seen them in his dream. The master received them on board and agreed to take them wherever they wanted to go.

Pompey first went to Amphipolis and crossed over to Lesbos, where his wife Cornelia and his younger son Sextus had been sent for safety. With them he sailed round and passed over to Cyprus. Notwithstanding he still had a powerful fleet, his courage had failed him after the Battle of Pharsalia; and he now determined to seek an asylum in Egypt, where Ptolemy and Cleopatra, the son and daughter of the Ptolemy whom he had favored in his wars, reigned, supported by a Roman force.

But his fate was decided by three ignominious men, Achilles, an Egyptian, Theodotus and Photinus, the ministers acting in place of Ptolemy the young king. A council of the latter's ablest officers was called and some advised giving Pompey an honorable reception and some an order to depart. But Theodotus, who loved to display his eloquence, said: "If you receive Pompey, you will have Cæsar for your enemy. If you order him off, he may some day avenge the offense. Therefore it is best to welcome him and then put him to death." This advice was acted upon and its execution left to the unscrupulous Achilles.

Under pretense that the water was too shallow to allow a large vessel to land, a small boat was sent out with Achilles and an old centurion by the name of Septimius, who had been a leader under Pompey in the war against the pirates. Pompey, recognizing his old officer, felt safe and entered the skiff, attended only by two centurions and a freedman. His wife and son

stood on the deck of the ship and mournfully watched the small craft as it slowly approached the shore; but they were somewhat reassured when they saw the king with a royal retinue standing on the beach as if to receive Pompey with honor. When the latter was stepping on land, however, Septimius struck him from behind and Achilles gave him another blow. Pompey too late recognized the treachery and fell without a struggle. They cut off his head, and his faithful friends burned his body on a rude funeral pyre made out of an old fishing boat, his ashes being then collected and carried to Cornelia, who buried them on his estate near Alba. The next day Lucius Lentulus, on his voyage from Cyprus, saw the funeral pyre, and said: "Who has finished his days and is going to remain upon this shore?" then he added with a sigh: "Ah! Pompey the Great! Thou perhaps mayst be the man."

Thus died Pompey the Great at the age of sixty, after enjoying more than his share of worldly honors. He has been criticised for not taking care that his army was kept nearer his fleet, in order that it might serve as a base for supplies; for his great strength lay in his naval force, which was much stronger than that of Cæsar. Although his ability as a great tactician in war is acknowledged by everybody, he was unscrupulously ambitious with respect to military glory. He aimed at supreme power at Rome; and, when neither the State nor the people acquiesced in his claim, he joined the oligarchy in order to maintain a superiority over Cæsar. In private life Pompey was an exemplary man, his fidelity being exceptional at that era. His death was so tragical that a reaction took place in the minds of the people, who placed him high in

the ranks of great men, and honored his imperishable memory with the statue at the foot of which great Cæsar finally fell.

Cæsar, in his pursuit of Pompey, reached Amphipolis not long after the great fugitive had been there. While crossing the Hellespont he met and conquered a squadron under Caius Cassius, whom he treated with the same consideration that he had Brutus. When he heard that Pompey had taken ship for Cyprus, Cæsar, without halting a moment, sailed for that country with four thousand men. Theodotus came to meet him as soon as he reached the shores of Alexandria, bearing Pompey's head and seal ring. Cæsar accepted the ring, but, turning away with unfeigned horror, ordered the head to be burned with honors on a funeral pyre. Afterwards the three murderers were themselves put to death for their treachery.

When Pompey's followers were captured Cæsar took them into his service and loaded them with favors. He wrote to his friends that the chief enjoyment he had gained from this victory was in saving his fellow-citizens who had borne arms against him.

Cæsar, with a small army, now landed at Alexandria. Cleopatra, Queen of Egypt, who was older than her brother, had been sent away; but Cæsar seized the uncompromising young Ptolemy, setting up Arsinoe, another royal princess, as the head of the government; and in August, 48 B.C., the Egyptians gained possession of the Island of Pharos, which was the key to the harbor. In a desperate attack, the following January, Cæsar was successful, but during the conflict, while retaking it, he was obliged to swim for his life from his sinking ship, having the presence of mind to keep a valuable notebook above water in his left hand, while

he swam with his right, all the time holding his military cloak in his teeth.

After Cæsar had conquered and slain young Ptolemy, he placed Cleopatra on the throne with her younger brother, while keeping Arsinoë to walk in his triumphal procession. Cleopatra had opened the way to Cæsar's heart by ingeniously gaining admittance to his palace rolled up in a bale of carpeting.

After Pharsalia, Cato took up a position at Corcyra, where Cnæus Pompey, as well as Cicero, Labienus, Afranius and others found him. Cicero, having no taste for military glory, refused the leadership and returned to Italy. These friends had not heard of the fate of their great commander, and were sailing to Cyrene, hoping to get news of the latter, when they met Cornelia and young Sextus, overcome by grief at the tragedy which they had just witnessed. Afterwards they united with the army which had gone across the Syrtes. Cato joined them later, but declined the command, and enlisted all in favor of Metellus Scipio, who was second at Pharsalia; while he himself assumed the government of Utica, and when all wished to destroy it, guaranteed its loyalty.

In October of 48 B.C. Cæsar was proclaimed dictator for the second time, and although he entrusted Marc Antony with the government of Italy, his own presence was demanded. He, however, lingered in Egypt eight months, as his admirers claimed, for the purpose of establishing Roman influence in that country, but really detained by the wiles of Cleopatra.

When Cæsar finally left Egypt, in May, 47 B.C., all this seeming torpor disappeared, and he very quickly settled up his affairs in Asia, whence, after his victory in Pontus over Pharnaces, son of Mithridates, he sent



CLEOPATRA EMERGING FROM THE BALE OF CARPETING.

the famous laconic despatch: "Veni, vidi, vici." Pharnaces was deprived of the kingdom of Pontus and his whole army surrendered.

In July of the same year (October, according to the Roman calendar), after Cæsar with much tact had settled civil dissensions in Rome, and had quelled the famous mutiny of the Tenth Legion, he set out again in pursuit of Pompey's followers. Crossing the sea, he landed on the African coast at Hadrumentum with only three thousand men, the rest of his force having been scattered by a storm. He soon felt strong enough to fight Metellus Scipio, who, with the help of King Juba of Numidia, had raised a considerable army; and on the 6th of April he decided the campaign at the Battle of Thapsus, where the Senatorial forces were beaten, and the leaders escaped in all directions. Scipio, being pursued and not knowing whither to flee, took his own life, but Labienus escaped to Spain accompanied by the two sons of Pompey.

When Cato heard that his party had been destroyed at Thapsus, he resolved to commit suicide. He first saw that all the ships in the harbor filled with fugitives were safely put out to sea, and after a banquet with his friends, at which philosophical and political topics were discussed, he retired to rest. Having noticed that his sword had been removed, he ordered it to be put at the head of his bed. Afterwards he fell asleep after reading thrice the pages of Plato's "Phædro"; but, waking when the birds began their morning song, he took down his weapon and thrust it through his side. Though a surgeon was called to bind up the wound, he tore it open and soon after expired.

The Romans thought that when life became intolerable it was bravery to end one's suffering, while the

Stoics recommended the endurance of all evil; but Cato, though a Stoic, was even more thoroughly a Roman in his doctrines. When Cæsar heard of Cato's death, he said: "Cato, I envy thee thy death, since thou enviest me the glory of giving thee thy life." Had he yielded unresistingly to circumstances, Cæsar would no doubt have treated him kindly, as he did so many less worthy subjects, and, after the latter's death, his influence might have been a great support to his country.

In July, 46 B.C., Cæsar returned to Rome for a fourth time and celebrated his conquest of Gaul, Egypt, Pontus, and Numidia; but his victories at Pharsalia were not recognized, since as yet no Roman had been allowed a triumph over his countrymen. Gladiatorial shows, mingled with the contests of wild beasts, took place, and feasts, under awnings of the richest silk, were spread for the people at twenty thousand tables. A general amnesty was proclaimed in favor of all opponents of Cæsar, who, remembering the Marian massacre and the proscriptions of Sylla, had not been able to believe that there would not be another general butchery. Besides this clemency, presents were given to the soldiers, and every poor citizen received a bounty.

In the division of the conquered countries Numidia was given to Sallust, who had been expelled from the Senate on account of his attachment to Cæsar.

Cæsar was now named dictator for the third time for a space of ten years, and was invested for the fourth time with the censorial authority for three years. In a word, he was master of the civilized world.

For several months, before new troubles broke out

in Spain and Africa, Cæsar remained at Rome, correcting the abuses of the government; but in September, 46 B.C., he was again called into the field.

He reached Saguntum in twenty-seven days; but was detained until the end of December by a long sickness. Then he met Cnæus Pompey near Malaga, and although the issue was for a time doubtful, Cæsar's success was at last complete. Varus and Labienus, two of Pompey's leaders, fled wounded to the coast, and Cnæus Pompey having been slain in a cave to which he had fled, his head was brought to Cæsar. Sextus Pompey escaped to northern Spain, and was later a great element of disturbance.

CHAPTER XXVII

CÆSAR'S REFORMS. —THE JULIAN CALENDAR.—CONSPIRACIES AGAINST HIM.—HIS DEATH.—IMPORTANT EVENTS AFTER CÆSAR'S DEATH.

45 B.C.—43 B.C.

WHEN Cæsar returned to Rome in 45 B.C., a year after his departure for Spain, he celebrated his fifth triumph, this time over the Roman citizens whom he had conquered in Spain; and he now was declared dictator for life. After this he lived only five months, from October, 45 B.C., to March, 44 B.C., and it was during this time that he made most of his laws and accomplished his reforms for the State. His unlimited power and habit of focusing thought, and withal his clear judgment, made it an easy thing for him to legislate. Though relentless towards those at war with Rome, he was generous to all who capitulated, giving citizenship and granting franchise to the conquered cities of Transalpine Gaul.

This great tactician had many unfulfilled projects, among which was the draining of the Pontine Marshes, the formation of a tunnel from the Fucine Lake to the Liris, and a complete survey and map of the whole Empire. He designed that clear-cut passage through the Isthmus of Corinth, the canal which makes it possible for vessels to make a short cut from Patras to Piræus, instead of sailing around the Peloponnesus. He also planned a canal from Rome to the seaport town of Terracina. Another design was a code of

laws to regulate more strictly the courts, which after several centuries was completed and became the standard of civilized Europe.

Cæsar doubled the number of Senators, increasing the capacity of that body to nine hundred members. Many of these were successful soldiers who had served their great general well, and some were the enfranchised inhabitants of the towns of Gaul. The old citizens were indignant on account of what they considered an infringement of their rights by the invasion of the barbarians, and even stuck up placards forbidding any to conduct the new Senators to the house; and until four years after Cæsar's death no foreigner ever succeeded in reaching the consulship. Cæsar was so punctilious that when Fabius Maximus died he filled the vacancy for one day, and when the people went to pay their respects and conducted the incumbent to the Senate-house, Cicero remarked: "Let us make haste to pay our respects to the consul before his office expires."

Among other things, Cæsar formed military colonies, and as such Corinth and Carthage regained something of their former prosperity. In order to make Italy more populous, he issued an edict that no citizen should be absent from the country more than three years; and he encouraged the observance of the marriage tie by allowing a matron with children to wear more ornaments and ride in a more costly equipage than other women. Cæsar contemplated the founding of a public library at Rome, and he planned a magnificent theater for carrying on public business, besides erecting the splendid Basilica of Julia.

The greatest reform which Cæsar accomplished for posterity was the famous Julian calendar, which is the

same as used to-day. Up to this time the Roman year, as invented by Numa, had consisted of only three hundred and fifty-five days. In order to bring the calendar to accord with the solar system, a month of twenty-three days had to be thrown in every other year by the priests, who were the only ones versed in the matter. But this was found not to remedy the difficulty, since there was still a difference of several months between the business and the solar year. Cæsar acted on the basis of the founding of Rome being 754 B.C. instead of 753 B.C., as we find it. Accordingly, calling in the great astronomers, it was determined to make the first of January of the Roman year 709 U.C. (*Urbs Condita*, or the founding of the city), which was 45 B.C., coincide with the 1st of January of the solar year. The astronomers however found that the date just mentioned was sixty-seven days ahead of the calendar. But for convenience they determined to adopt it, and thus they made it the 25th of October, 46 B.C. (708 U.C.) instead of the 1st of January, 45 B.C. (709 U.C.). Therefore into this year they were obliged to insert two months between the last day of November and the first day of December of the 708 U.C., and since 708 U.C. was the alternate year in which the extra month of twenty-three days had been thrown in, that year now consisted of four hundred and forty-five days, and was called the Year of Confusion. But the error was thus satisfactorily corrected, and the 1st of January, 709 U.C., became the same as the 1st of January, 45 B.C., the thing aimed at; and ever after the year contained three hundred and sixty-five days instead of three hundred and fifty-five days, each month being lengthened to the present extent; but as the solar year consists of three hundred

and sixty-five and one-fourth days, they had to add one day every four years; and thus we get our Leap Year. This was the famous calendar which with slight alterations is used at the present time.

After this, however, the Julian year was eleven minutes longer than the true solar year, because the latter was three hundred and sixty-five days, five hours and forty-nine minutes, while the Julian year was three hundred and sixty-five days and six hours. So at the beginning of 1582 A.D. the Julian year had become ten days behind the true time. Pope Gregory XIII. shortened that year by ten days; and to prevent future errors he ordered that the additional day in February should be omitted three times in four hundred years. This is called the Gregorian calendar, and dates according to it are called New Style (N. S.) while those according to the Julian calendar are called Old Style (O. S.). England did not adopt the amendment until 1752, when they were obliged to drop eleven days between the 2d and the 14th of September, and the cry arose: "Give us back our eleven days." Russia, Greece and Roumania still reckon in the Old Style, and are therefore now twelve days behind the rest of Europe.

The envious laughed at Cæsar for his reforms. When someone remarked, "Syrius will rise to-morrow," Cicero said: "Undoubtedly, there is an edict for it," just as if the movements of the stars were forced upon them by Cæsar's calendar.

These reforms and his literary occupations so completely absorbed Cæsar that he had little time for social duties; and, though he was as affable as ever, the nobles envied him and the people began to think that he was becoming haughty and undemocratic; and they

soon grew suspicious that he was aiming to grasp sovereign power. His image was now placed on all the money of the Republic, an honor conceded to none before him; and Quintilius, which had been the fifth month in the old year, the seventh month in our calendar, was in his honor called July.

When Cæsar raised the statue of Pompey, which had been thrown down, Cicero said that Cæsar, in restoring Pompey's statue, in reality set up his own. He was urged to have a guard, but, feeling that the affection of the people was his only real talisman, he refused, saying: "It is better to die once than to live always in fear of death." The Senate then took an oath to guard the safety of his person, honors hitherto reserved for the gods were rendered him; and he was even approached with sacrifices.

Still Cæsar felt that there was greater attainable glory. He probed the minds of the people to ascertain if they would suffer a king. His statue in the Forum was crowned with a diadem; but when to test the people two of his tribunes tore it off, and the mob raised shouts of approval, Cæsar understood that things were not yet ripe for such a climax of greatness.

On the 26th of January as he was returning from Alba to Rome some of his followers saluted him as king; but Cæsar, on observing discontent among the people, appeared to resent it, and called out: "I am not your king, but only Cæsar." A final attempt was made to sound the people at the Lupercalia, the 15th of February, 45 B.C. While Cæsar was sitting in his golden chair, Antony, who was consul for the year, approached him, and, acting as one of the priests of Pan, wreathed his head with laurel, made to look like the diadem of Oriental sovereigns. The applause

which followed was so faint and perfunctory that Cæsar put away the gift, whereupon genuine and hearty plaudits greeted him. Early traditional prejudices were still too much respected for the Roman people to brook a crown. They were ready to submit to absolute power in a dictator, but even the name of king was still so abhorred that the tribunes hunted out the persons who first saluted Cæsar by that title and imprisoned them. Then the people called the tribunes Brutuses.

Cæsar's friends informed him that it was written in the Sibylline Books that the Romans could conquer Parthia and recover the "eagles of Crassus," which were still retained as trophies by the Parthians, only under a king; and Cæsar then determined, since he could not be acknowledged the sovereign of Rome, to rule as such abroad. He now proposed that the Senate should pass a decree enabling him to assume the appointments of a king in the provinces.

When a move was made to vote Cæsar the desired title, many, not doubting that it was a stepping-stone to real sovereignty, were angry, especially since they had already been highly shocked and displeased by the appearance in Rome of Cleopatra, who desired to be acknowledged as Cæsar's wife. Finally, as Cæsar was about to join the army, a plot was conceived against his life.

This originated in the bosom of Caius Cassius, a man whom Cæsar had befriended at the time of his surrender after Pharsalia. Cassius' character was treacherous and jealous in the extreme; and it afterwards proved that he had even planned to slay Cæsar as far back as that era. Cassius was brother-in-law to Junius Brutus, whose mother the great general had

loved in his youth. Brutus was a nephew and son-in-law of Cato, and largely followed his methods of life, being reserved in manner and given up to study. After Pharsalia, Cæsar had adopted Brutus and felt to him as to a son. The latter gained the prætorship through Cæsar's influence, and was now to be appointed consul; but the Senatorial party, and especially Cassius, were discontented because he who held the name of Brutus, so dear to the Romans ever since the reign of the Tarquins, was not now working in the interests of the declining Republic. Billets were written and placed upon the prætor's chair, saying that this was no Brutus—"Thou sleepest, Brutus, thou art not a Brutus," these expressions pointing to Cæsar's murder, as Brutus' duty as a patriot. But Cæsar would believe no harm of his adopted son, though he entertained vague suspicions of Cassius.

The position Cæsar held rendered the project difficult; but more than sixty persons, urged on by Cassius, joined the conspiracy, and were let into the secret. Strange to say, all of these, like Cassius and Brutus, were under some personal obligation to Cæsar. Caius Trebonius, who had been willing to accept every favor from Cæsar, was one of them, and there were Lucius Tullius Cimber and Publius Servilius Casca; while Quintus Ligarius, who had lately accepted a pardon from the dictator, rose from a sick-bed to join the assassins.

The Senate was called together for the Ides of March, when Cæsar was sure to be there; but a secret in the hands of sixty men cannot long possess the same sanctity as if in the bosom of one alone. It is like Virgil's "*Fama*," which has wings; since, no longer inviolable, each of the sixty is likely to disclose it to

one or more bosom friends, and the rate of its motion increases faster than the laws of arithmetical permutation.

Many warned Cæsar that danger was dogging his tracks. There had been lights in the heavens, strange noises heard in various quarters by night, and the appearance of solitary birds in the Forum, while a soothsayer told him the name of the fatal day. As a climax, on the morning of the Ides his wife Calpurnia arose from disturbed dreams and tried to persuade Cæsar to relinquish his purpose of presiding that day in the Senate; and accordingly he sent Antony to dissolve the session.

When his changed purpose reached the ears of the conspirators they were in despair; for on account of their number it was found that the plot would not hang together another hour. Decius Brutus, one of the assassins, sought out the dictator, and, scoffing at the idea of dreams and auguries, told him that the people were waiting in the Senate-house to confer on him the sovereign power in the provinces and asked him if he must tell them to go home until Calpurnia had better dreams. Accordingly Cæsar was carried forth in his litter. On the way to the Senate a faithful slave tried to give him a note, but the crowd was so dense that he could not reach him, and afterwards when Cæsar received it he had no time to read the revelation it contained of the cabal.

In the meantime the conspirators lost all courage. A friend came up to Casca and told him that Brutus had revealed the secret; while at the same time Popilius Lænus whispered to Brutus and Cassius, saying: "What you do, do quickly," and as soon as Cæsar appeared Popilius engaged him in conversation. Cas-

sus seeing this, was so terrified that he thought of putting a dagger into his own heart instead of Cæsar's. But Brutus assured him that the gestures of Popilius indicated a demand from Cæsar and not the disclosing of a secret.

When Cæsar took his seat, Cimber, one of the assassins, presented a petition in behalf of his brother, while all the conspirators pressed up so close, as if urging the request, that Cæsar was displeased at so much importunity and arose; at the same moment Cimber seized him by his robe and dismantled him, and Casca struck him from behind.

Many daggers now glistened in the air; but Cæsar defended himself for a few moments with his sword, even piercing through the arm of Casca; until suddenly seeing Brutus among the assassins, struck to the heart with anguish he cried out: *Et tu, Brute?* " (And you, too, Brutus?) Then he covered his face with his gown, and fell at the foot of Great Pompey's statue, pierced by twenty-three wounds. Only one of these was mortal, for, of all his old friends, not one coveted the distinction of striking the fatal blow.

No pen can describe the ensuing scene of consternation in the Senate; for, though all that august body had witnessed the cowardly, murderous deed, the crime had been committed with such rapid execution that there was no chance for rescue. When all was over, Brutus, brandishing his dripping dagger in the air, called out to Cicero, who is said by some to have been privy to the deed, that Rome was delivered from the tyrant. This was on the 15th of March, 44 B.C., and Cæsar was only fifty-four years of age.

Thus was sacrificed a man, than whom the world has never known a greater; one who gave up nothing

which he ever undertook. No one has surpassed him in generalship, and as a statesman and politician his reputation is unequalled. As a Latin linguist no one was his competitor, his works showing how able a writer he was. "He was what the Germans call a many-sided man, touching life by every fiber and great in everything that he touched."

"In person Cæsar was tall and spare; his face was generally pale, and his body weak. It was his mind alone which made him master of the world."

Unlike Sylla, Cæsar rarely allowed pleasure to interfere with business. He valued power above every earthly thing; but, though he had no scruples as to the manner of gaining anything his ambition sought, there is no doubt that he used this power for the greatest good of the people; and it is certain that no commander has ever shown such indulgence to his enemies. He was a person free from prejudice and conceit, and "the dignity, sweetness and nobleness of his character cannot be disputed." "We, like Shakespeare, must recognize him as one 'of the foremost men of all this world';" and his untimely death threw the country into anarchy and bloodshed.

When Brutus arose to deliver a speech exonerating the assassins, he found the place literally empty except for his associates, all the senators, centurions, lictors, and attendants having fled. The conspirators gathered around him and escorted him to the Forum, where he harangued the crowd, telling them that they had at last disenthralled the Romans. But, finding that all had dispersed, the conspirators took refuge in the Capitol, where they spent the night, protected by a band of gladiators.

After Cæsar's death a great comet appeared for

seven nights and then disappeared forever. It was supposed to be a sign that the soul of that great man was admitted among the gods.

The dismay throughout Rome was such that the body of Cæsar remained several hours untouched on the spot where it had fallen. At length three of his faithful slaves placed it on a litter and carried it to his home.

Dolabella, Cicero's son-in-law, who had held high authority under Cæsar, assumed the consular dignity, and hoped to grasp supreme power at the head of the radical party by catering to the assassins, while the aristocratic party planned to establish the old Constitution, crushed out when Pompey fell. Notwithstanding the effort of Cicero, who had tried to enlist all in supporting the Constitution according to the old régime, Antony and Lepidus succeeded in rallying the conservative masses, and, with Cæsar's soldiers, the magistrates and the foreigners who had been admitted to citizenship, together with the industrial and moneyed class, they managed to support a government such as had been organized by Cæsar.

The conspirators, notwithstanding that a decree was immediately issued consigning their deeds to oblivion and giving them the provinces Cæsar had designated for them, by no means now felt safe; for they knew that Lepidus had a legion on the island of the Tiber all ready for departure; and they thought that if he united with Antony Cæsar's ruthless murder would speedily be avenged. But they did not understand that the strong rivalry between the two was so great as to prevent this.

After the compromise had been agreed upon, such was the unscrupulousness of the age, and the fear of

these men for their own lives by the hand of some of the conspirators, that Cassius went to sup with Antony and Brutus banqueted with Lepidus.

Calpurnia now brought forth Cæsar's last will and testament, and when the people understood from it the great love he had borne them, they grew mad with grief and excitement; and Antony augmented this by his oration at the public funeral, although he pretended to be endeavoring to hold the people back.

The obsequies of Cæsar, voted by the Senate, were conducted on a scale of unprecedented magnificence. His body was conveyed through the streets on an ivory bier, decorated with scarlet, and at the head of the procession was borne the dress in which he had been assassinated. The funeral pyre, set up in the Campus Martius, was a model of the Temple of Venus; and his ashes were to be deposited in the urn of his daughter Julia.

Antony brought the body into the Campus Martius, and holding up the garment reeking with gore, he pointed out the rents which had been made by Cassius and Brutus, Cæsar's well-beloved friends, and those which Casca and the rest had torn. The decree by which the Senate had awarded to Cæsar extraordinary powers in requital for his great services was read; and also the oath which the Senate, including the assassins, had taken to defend his person.

Antony recalled in a few words the brilliant achievements of the great dictator, and his devotion to the people. He besought the crowd, as it swayed to and fro in its threatening violence, to listen to reason; but at the same time he told them that if he possessed the eloquence of a Brutus "he would put a tongue in every wound of Cæsar, that would move the very stones of

Rome to rise in mutiny." Then, referring to the will of Cæsar, he said that could they but all hear it "they would wish to dip their kerchiefs in his blood—yea, beg a hair of him for memory, and, dying, mention it in their wills as a rich legacy to their children."

The oration of Antony had the desired effect, and in the midst of the confusion two of Cæsar's old militia stepped forward and prematurely ignited the bier. In the enthusiasm which followed the ladies threw upon the flames their silken draperies, while the soldiers added their weapons. Shrines were demolished, furniture in the houses and valuable works of art were destroyed, and the fragments were thrown on the pyre. The roar of the infuriated mob rose above the crackling of the flame, and in the midst of it the cries of those demanding vengeance; but the murderers had fled from the city and the other conspirators could not be found.

The people erected in the Forum a marble statue of Cæsar of colossal size, upon which were inscribed the words: "To the Father of His Country"; and an altar was reared beside it, upon which for many years sacrifices were offered as to a god. His death was afterwards fully avenged, and who shall say that this great statesman did not die at the right time—at the zenith of his glory, before he had the chance of sully-ing his distinguished name and character by making himself the first of that long line of execrable sovereigns who rendered the very name of "Roman Emperor" odious to all future ages.

Cæsar's will was this: Young Caius Octavius, his grandnephew, was declared his principal heir, and the sons and nephews of other sisters also had large shares in his property. Brutus was among many of his sup-

posed friends to whom legacies were left. His luxurious gardens beyond the Tiber were given to the use of the public, and every Roman citizen received three hundred sesterces (twelve or fifteen dollars). It was the idea that he had thus kindly thought of them which so electrified the people and devoted them to his memory.

Antony was now the chief man of Rome, and, being regarded by the people as Cæsar's successor, he had but to recommend any decree as an enactment of Cæsar's will in order to secure its enforcement. As the head of the State he surrounded himself with a bodyguard of six thousand men, and afterwards proposed that the office of dictator should be forever abolished. In the words of Cicero, addressed to Cassius, "The State seemed to be emancipated from the king but not from sovereign power." There was no doubt that the end of the Republic had at last come.

Meanwhile young Octavius, who had been pursuing his studies in Greece, was assured of the co-operation of the whole military force assembled in Apollonia, if he would avenge his great-uncle's death. But Octavius decided to depart for Italy almost alone, and when he arrived in Brundisium he was received by the army with acclamation. There, learning his uncle's will for the first time, he immediately assumed the name of Cæsar; thus binding himself to pay the large legacies which Cæsar had willed to the people. He was from this time known as Caius Julius Cæsar Octavianus, or Octavius, since he was the son of Caius Octavius and Apia, a daughter of Cæsar's sister, Julia.

Antony and Lepidus, only, now stood between

Octavius and his heritage, and the latter was a match for both of these in all practical affairs. He immediately supplied himself with money from the public funds, and set out for Rome, where he found that Antony had spent most of Cæsar's property in bribing influence. Such differences soon arose between them that it is said Octavius tried to hire assassins to take Antony's life.

On the 31st of September, 45 B.C., Cicero delivered before the Senate the first of his fourteen speeches against Antony, called the "Philippics." They were thus named because similar in tone to the four "Vituperations" of Demosthenes against Philip of Macedon. Cicero's second and best "Philippic," which he did not dare to deliver, was in reply to the invective of Antony, which implicated Cicero in Cæsar's murder.

Cicero sent this much admired speech to his friend Atticus, telling him not to let the followers of Antony get hold of it under any circumstances. After delivering his third and fourth "Philippics," he retired to his "flowers and shrubbery," and the last of the series was not delivered until April 22d, 43 B.C. During this time he lived at his villa, "the same weak, eloquent, and still the same scholarly man." He was little adapted to the storms of the State, and, like many a man of genius, struggled to accomplish that for which he was not suited.

Octavius, in order to counteract opposing influences, delivered a speech in the Forum; and, pointing to a statue of the great dictator, he swore by the immortal gods that he would emulate the spirit and strive to attain the greatness of his uncle. His audience applauded, declaring that the spirit of the great Cæsar

still lived, and should continue to rule the Roman people.

There were now three factions in Italy, the anti-Cæsar party, the party of Antony, and the one of Octavius. Thus politics were becoming every day more complicated; for Cicero was in the interests of the party which had murdered Cæsar, and at the same time for Octavius against Antony; while Octavius was divided between espousing the old Pompeian party, which was hostile to Antony, and giving himself up to the popular party altogether.

Early in the year 43 B.C. the consuls Hirtius and Pansa determined to drive Antony out of Italy. In a sharp contest at Modena on the 15th of April, Antony was successful against the united forces of the two consuls and Octavius, and Pansa was mortally wounded; but twelve days later, also at Modena, Hirtius was victorious over Antony, although at the cost of his own life.

While Octavius was hesitating about uniting Cæsar's veterans with troops commanded by the assassin Decius Brutus, Antony made his way across the Alps, and in Narbonese Gaul gained a victory over the forces of Lepidus, obliging the latter to join him.

It is said that even at Modena Octavius was beginning to wheel round to the side of Antony, some even having hinted that he had a hand in the death of Hirtius and Pansa. His conduct was so suspicious that Cicero, who had previously eulogized him in public, now talked of desiring his removal. Octavius, however, after entering into negotiations with Antony, sent to Rome, demanding that his own name should be brought forward for the consulship, hinting at the same time that if his request were not granted he

should gain it by the force of arms. Accordingly, although not yet twenty years old, he was elected consul. He immediately had all of Cæsar's murderers convicted of treason and exiled, and soon after, Decius Brutus, having been deserted by his soldiers in Macedonia, was the first to be taken, near Aquileia, and was slain by the order of Antony.

CHAPTER XXVIII

THE SECOND TRIUMVIRATE.—PROSCRIPTIONS.—DEATH OF CICERO.—BATTLE OF PHILIPPI.—TRAGIC DEATH OF BRUTUS AND CASSIUS.—CONTEST OF ANTONY AND OCTAVIUS IN THE EAST.—DEATH OF ANTONY AND CLEOPATRA.

43 B.C.—30 B.C.

ANTONY and Lepidus now met Octavius on an island near Bologna, and united into what was called the Second Triumvirate. This was to last five years, and by its terms they agreed to divide the Empire of the world between them; all three were to govern Italy in common, their authority being equal and equivalent to a Senate, consul and laws. The two Gauls were given to Antony, except the Narbonese district, which, with Spain, was assigned to Lepidus, while he in return was obliged to give up the greater part of his army. Octavius received Sicily, Sardinia and Africa.

The first work of the Second Triumvirate was to rid itself by proscription of all whom any of them feared as enemies, each making out a list of those whose death could be of benefit to any of the three. Antony, who had made himself unpopular by his course at the time of Cæsar's death, had plenty he wished to sacrifice, and Octavius, although he had few personal enemies, thought of those who might possibly stand in his way. When any of the three brought forward one who was the friend of the other two, one of

his own intimates was given up. Cicero was Antony's first victim; and, as an equivalent, Lucius Cæsar, Antony's uncle, was marked; while to cancel the obligation, Lepidus surrendered his own brother, Paulus, who was also a cousin of Octavius. The latter deplored the loss of Cicero, and would have shielded him; but personal scruples could not be allowed to interfere with their compact.

At first seventeen of the most prominent men in Rome were slaughtered; and afterwards list after list of the doomed was issued, from one to three hundred Senators being on the roll and two thousand from the Equestrian Order. Rewards were offered to any one who would bring in heads to the Triumvirate; and, in order that no evidence should, in the future, stand against the betrayers, and no stain be left on the memory of those who had received the reward, no records were kept of any of the proceedings; but all persons were warned, under the severest penalty, against harboring the proscribed. Thus, sons and daughters often betrayed their fathers, and wives their husbands, simply to obtain the reward, and sometimes to cancel old grudges, as well as through fear.

Cicero, apprehensive of danger, was hastening to the coast in order to find shelter in Macedonia, behind the power of Brutus and Cassius; and he would have escaped had not a storm delayed his progress and seasickness taken away his courage, so that he turned back to the Italian coast, saying: "I will die in that country which, by my voice I have so often saved." But he would finally have boarded a ship had he not vacillated so long that Antony's soldiers had time to seize him in his villa at Formiæ. When he felt that resistance was useless, he calmly stretched out his head

from the litter in which he was being carried by his slaves, and it was severed from the body. Afterwards they cut off his hands, saying that it was with them that he had written the "Philippics"; and these, with his head, they carried to Rome, exposing them on the same Rostra which had so often resounded to his eloquence. Then the people said that it was not Cicero's face they saw, but the reflection of Antony's malice. Fulvia pierced his tongue through and through with her bodkin, because he had denounced the iniquities of her two husbands, Claudius and Antony.

Plebeian and Patrician alike wept over Cicero's cruel fate; for he was no doubt the purest and most immaculate man of those degenerate times; and no one had more friends. Politically he was weak and wavering, because he saw so much to condemn in all factions; but the perfect integrity and justice of his life entitle him to the regard and admiration of all.

Although such numbers were sacrificed, many of the proscribed escaped their fate. Some found refuge with Brutus in the East, and some with Sextus Pompey. One Vetulio, with his slaves disguised as lictors, assumed the pomp of a prætor, and journeyed from Rome in splendor. "The doors of inns were thrown open and carriages and horses pressed into his service." Once on the coast he appropriated ships and escaped to Sicily, where he put himself under the protection of Sextus Pompey.

Another man, named Antius Restio, left his house with only one slave, whom he had before this time branded in the face and loaded with chains. With the forgiving spirit of a Christian the slave accompanied his master and concealed him in the under-

brush; then, like a pagan, he murdered an unsuspecting traveler and placed him on a funeral pyre. When the soldiers of the proscription arrived he informed them that he had slain his master, giving as a reason his branded cheek and his limbs callous from chains. The soldiers cut off the head of the murdered man, and gave the slave the reward, and the latter then succeeded in escorting his master into Sicily.

Lepidus and Munatius Plancus, a friend of Cæsar, who with Pollio had declared against the latter's murderers, were chosen consuls for the year 43 B.C.; while Antony proceeded to Brundisium to organize a war against Brutus and Cassius in the East; and Octavius tried to take Sicily from Sextus Pompey. The fleet of Octavius, however, was driven out of its course, he himself being obliged to join Antony. Dolabella, who had been assigned to Syria, when he saw that he was sure to be caught by Cassius, took his own life. Brutus and Cassius also had almost come to an open quarrel while plundering the cities of Asia Minor in 42 B.C., but when they heard of the Triumvirate and the proscription they determined to march into Europe.

Brutus, when about to leave, had a dream which he thought a visitation from some outraged deity. He was sitting in his tent at midnight when a specter like Cæsar's ghost appeared to him, and in reply to his inquiry, "Art thou god or man?" said: "I am thy evil genius, Brutus; thou wilt see me at Philippi," to which Brutus answered "I will meet thee there."

Octavius and Antony, hearing that Cassius and Brutus were approaching, hastened from Brundisium to the aid of their army, which had preceded them; and, although Sextus Pompey tried to cut them off

with his fleet, they landed in Macedonia and joined their friends at Philippi.

The armies numbered each one hundred thousand. Cassius and Brutus, since the auguries were unfavorable, tried to defer the engagement, but the Triumviri, being ill-supplied with provisions, were anxious for decisive action. At first in the height of the battle, Cassius, having heard that Brutus was beaten, withdrew with his slave. A moment afterwards the cavalry, in order to rouse Cassius with the news, came galloping up the hill, announcing that on the contrary Brutus has been signally successful; Cassius was found with his head severed from his body. His freedman no doubt had been ordered to take his master's life, and had done so, it is thought, with the very same dagger with which he had pierced great Cæsar's heart. Although Cassius never played a worthy part in the history of Rome, Brutus in his grief pronounced over his friend the eulogy: "There lies the last of the Romans."

It would have been better if Brutus had now given up the fight altogether; but three weeks later with a few reinforcements he undertook the second Battle of Philippi. After a few hours' fierce fighting his forces lost ground and fled in utter confusion. It is said that Cæsar's ghost had again appeared before him the night before the engagement.

Brutus himself, with his friends, escaped to a ravine in the mountains; and when one of these who ventured out to glean tidings did not return, all knew that he had perished at the enemy's hands; and as the day was dawning they saw that their hiding-place would soon be revealed. "It is time to move on," someone said, and Brutus replied: "Indeed we must

go." Shaking hands with all, he added: "I weep for my country and not for myself." Then, giving his sword to an attendant, he fell upon it, forcing its glittering point through his heart. Thus perished Brutus, the last of Cæsar's assassins, each one of whom had met a tragic death.

The Battle of Philippi in October, 42 B.C., was the last act in the Roman Republican drama. "The box and the puppets were shut up, and the play played out," but it was not until a few years later at Actium that the monarchy was introduced.

The power of the Triumviri was now established anew, Antony being given the Eastern provinces, Octavius the Western; and Africa alone was left to Lepidus, who was a silent partner in the whole great game.

Fourteen years preceding these events Antony had visited Alexandria, and had been greatly fascinated with Cleopatra's charms. Now in the summer of 41 B.C. he again received a visit from Cleopatra at Tarsus, which decided his future destiny.

The Egyptian queen was conveyed up the Cydnus in a galley of unrivaled magnificence under a canopy embroidered with silver and jewels. The sails were of purple and the stern covered with gold. Boys dressed like Cupids fanned her brow, and incense burned in her honor all along the banks of the stream. She was now twenty-eight years old, and from that day Antony, enthralled by her beauty, was her slave.

But early in the year 40 B.C. Antony left Cleopatra, and on his way to fight the Parthians he found Fulvia at Athens in the company of Munatius Plancus. They had come over in order to spur Antony on to make another attempt against Octavius. Antony had

made only a few feeble and half-hearted efforts to carry out her wishes, when Fulvia's death put an end to this civil strife, and there was a compromise effected in which the Triumviri made a third division of the provinces. Lepidus was left in possession of Africa, Octavius was to drive Sextus Pompey out of Sicily, while Antony was to recover the standard of Crassus from the Parthians, and settle the boundary of the East and West within the Ionian Sea.

The new compact was sealed by the marriage of Antony with Octavia, the elder sister of Octavius; and at the same time the restoration of peace was celebrated by a joint ovation. Virgil commemorated this auspicious occasion by his Fourth Eclogue, styled "Pollio."

It was at this time of anarchy in the government, when many in the vicinity of Rome were obliged to give up their farms, that the young Virgil recovered his lands through the influence of Mæcenas; and to show his gratitude to the great statesman and scholar, he wrote the First Eclogue. Horace, who had been in the army of Brutus and Cassius, also suffered in these times, and his hereditary estates near Mantua were restored also by Mæcenas, then at the head of the civil government at Rome, acting under Antony.

Sextus Pompey, whose possession of Italy had given him command of the corn-market, offended at the course of the Triumviri, blockaded Italy so closely in the winter of 39 B.C. that there was a positive dearth of grain. In the riots which broke out in the Forum, the Triumviri were pelted with stones and finally forced to invite Sextus to become a part of the League. Sextus was the first to entertain them, and when they met at Misenum, in reply to Antony's question as to

where they should sup, Sextus said: "On the admiral's galley of six oars, the only patrimonial mansion now left to Pompey." This was a sarcasm on Antony, who was then in possession of the house of Sextus' father, Pompey the Great. In this vessel the two colleagues were magnificently entertained, Pompey's ship being connected to the promontory by a bridge. Menas, one of Sextus' chief officers, suggested cutting the cable and putting to sea with the great prize, since this would make him master, not only of Sicily and Sardinia, but the whole Roman Empire. Sextus hesitated a moment and then asked the officer why he had not gone ahead without consulting him; "For," he said, "we must now let it alone, since I cannot break my oath of treaty." The agreement made on shipboard was that Sicily, Sardinia and Corsica should be left to Sextus, with the addition of the province of Achæa, on condition that he should rid the sea of pirates which then formed a blockade to Italy, and deliver a certain amount of corn in Rome. This treaty partitioned Italy into four, instead of three parts.

Antony refused to indemnify Sextus for the loss of his private property, however, and postponed indefinitely putting him in possession of Achæa. Accordingly, not gaining the advantage which he desired, Sextus again blockaded the corn-market. Two indecisive battles were fought, after which Octavius' fleet was destroyed by storms; and he sent for the great general Agrippa to conduct the war. It was the latter who, needing a harbor, cut a passage through the isthmus separating Lake Lacrinus from the sea and Lake Avernus from Lake Lacrinus, forming what was known as the Julian Port.

Octavius and Antony soon got rid of Lepidus, thus practically putting an end to the Triumvirate, though at a conference, held at Brindisi, made famous by the attendance of Horace and Mæcenas, and mentioned in Horace's Fifth Satire, they agreed to hold to the compact for the five years first stipulated. This was in 37 B.C.; but when they parted friends, Octavius, as usual, maintained the ascendancy. Antony had earlier been warned by a fortune-telling gypsy in his camp that the Fates were on Octavius' side, and that he would always be eclipsed by him; and the same soothsayer had told him "to keep at a great distance from that fortunate young man." This proved true; "for in every kind of play, whether they cast lots or cast the die," Antony was still the loser.

Sextus Pompey, meanwhile, having failed in his efforts to form an alliance with Marc Antony against Octavius, passed over into Asia, where he was slain.

Antony, after three years of married life with Octavia, went back to Cleopatra. He disaffected the Roman people by endowing her with many of the best Roman provinces, and from that time he gave himself up wholly to her influence. "Although Antony had conferred on different individuals governments and kingdoms, and had deprived many princes of their dominions and rights, and had even beheaded the King of Judea, yet nothing he had ever done had so affronted the Romans as his devotion and gifts to this Oriental queen." His utter infatuation is further illustrated by the well-known story of the pearl of inestimable price with which he furnished her so that she might dissolve it in vinegar and thus win a trivial bet. He also had her head placed on the Roman governmental coins which he issued.

Soon after, Antony obtained a divorce from Octavia; and in this her fine character was brought out by her noble conduct in her devoted care, not only for their own, but for Fulvia's children; while in view of his treatment of so admirable a woman, the public was more than ever incensed against Antony.

Octavius in the meantime, acting under the advice of Mæcenâs, was firmly consolidating his power in Italy. He won few victories himself, leaving the care of the army to his great general Agrippa; but the people cared little as long as they were prosperous. Octavius had been divorced from two wives: Clodia, Fulvia's daughter, and Scribonia Pompey's child; but since both separations had been for political reasons, no one criticised him especially, until he separated Livia from her husband, Tiberius Claudius, in order to marry her himself. His tenacity, industry, and urbanity were rapidly raising him in the public favor, so that the stain brought on his character by the dread proscription was soon forgotten by the people.

When Munatius Plancus came home from the East he startled the Roman people by revealing the fact that Cleopatra's influence had so far surrounded Antony that in his will he had ordered his body returned to Egypt if he should finally die in Rome. The Senate understood by this that Rome was in danger of being absorbed by Egyptian power.

In 32 B.C. Antony was relieved of his command, by order of the Senate, and war was declared against the Queen of Egypt. This resulted in the Battle of Actium which took place on the 2d of September, 31 B.C. Here there was displayed such brilliant pomp and pageantry of war as the world had never before witnessed. Antony's force outnumbered that of Octa-

vius, and, though he was not equal to him in strength, it seemed that the former was going to win the day, when Cleopatra, either influenced by bribery or seized with a panic, gave the signal for the retreat of her sixty ships. In the consternation which followed Antony's entire fleet was routed and finally went over to Octavius. But the soldiers on land could not believe that Antony had really fled and would not surrender for seven days.

Octavius, engaged in founding cities, rewarding his soldiers, and settling affairs in the Eastern provinces, did not return to Egypt until nearly a year from the time of the Battle of Actium. Meanwhile Antony and Cleopatra devised all sorts of chimerical plans for seeking a new home in a distant land, Cleopatra even having some of her ships drawn across the Isthmus of Suez.

Being obliged to give up these schemes, Cleopatra tried to gain terms with Octavius in favor of herself and children. But, uninfluenced by her wiles, Octavius refused all assistance, unless she would sacrifice Antony. Since she was not now ready to do this, Octavius appeared in Egypt again in the summer of 30 B.C., prepared for another battle.

This naval contest took place near Alexandria, and again Antony was betrayed. The two fleets saluted, their banners blended, and the same maneuvers took place on land. "With sheathed swords and waving banners, Antony's cavalry galloped into Octavius' lines, where they were received with such applause that the temples of Alexandria shook." Cleopatra's duplicity had conquered and Antony was ruined beyond recall.

Antony, a tired old man, and utterly discouraged,

now thrust a dagger into his heart, and, being removed to the mausoleum Cleopatra had built for her tomb, died in her arms, saying that he was a Roman conqueror to the last, since he had been vanquished by a Roman, at the same time telling her to seek safety if she could still live on with honor.

But nothing remained to Cleopatra except death or a place in Octavius' triumphal procession. In view of such an emergency, she had experimented with various poisons to find the one which took life the easiest and quickest. Therefore, after having written to Octavius begging that she might be buried in the same tomb with Antony, she put her hand in a basket of roses ordered for the purpose, and drew forth a concealed asp, which she placed on her arm, and received the deadly wound.

Cleopatra had reigned fourteen years with Antony, and in all twenty-two years; though after so long a career she was only thirty-eight. The secret of her power lay not so much in her actual beauty as in her fascinating manner and bewitching style. Horace celebrated her fall in majestic verse; but congratulated the Romans on their escape from her wiles.

Marc Antony has been handed down as one of the most extraordinary figures in history. His early education under the tuition of his stepfather, Lucius Cornelius Lentulus, had undoubtedly much to do with the errors which checkered his later life. "Frank, resolute, genial and open-hearted, but self-indulgent and devoid of principle," it has been said that at the time of the proscription he was the "more insolent as he was the less cruel of the three Triumviri"; and in his one vacation from Cleopatra's wiles, when he fought eighteen battles against the Parthians in

twenty-one days, marching three hundred miles, his retreat was so extraordinary that the Parthian pursuers "unstrung their bows and bade him depart unharmed," since he was too great a warrior and too merciful a man to be slain in petty warfare.

The years of Rome's imperial monarchy date from the Battle of Actium, 31 B.C., but it was not until 29 B.C. that Octavius celebrated his three great triumphs of Dalmatia, Actium and Egypt, and established himself in Rome as the sovereign of Italy. A portrait of Cleopatra with an asp on her arm was carried in his train of captives.

An empire such as this had never before come into existence. It contained four hundred million inhabitants and embraced the entire known world, its boundaries extending in different directions as far as the Rhine and Danube, the Euphrates, and the African Desert, a "conglomeration of discordant States with every variety of customs, laws and manners, each nation speaking its own language."

Octavius himself closed the Gates of Janus, which had not been shut since just after the First Punic War in 235 B.C., and were never again opened during his reign, for the general cry was for tranquillity in the State.

CHAPTER XXIX

THE AUGUSTAN AGE.—CUSTOMS, MANNERS, LITERATURE
ART AND RELIGION.

THE life of the Romans at this era, although luxurious compared to the early time of the Republic, was meager and barren. At first the Roman house had consisted only of the *atrium*, a chamber darkened and stained by smoke, which ascended from the fire-place through a hole in the roof, this aperture also serving for light. Here the guests were received and retainers assembled, and this was also used as the living room by the newly wedded pair. Later the floor was strewn with Roman children's toys, while the distaff and the spinning-wheel were found by the fire-side, and on this hearth, devoted to the Lares and Penates as a family altar, the meals for the family were prepared. At first the clients stayed to dine; but later they brought little baskets in which to carry away their dinner, the latter custom becoming the occasion of much mirth.

At a very early day the table furniture of the rich Roman showed a great variety of forms of workmanship. It consisted chiefly of vases of all sizes, for liquors and oils; for the latter they were called gutti, and had narrow throats for dropping. There were flagons, goblets, bottles, pitchers of elegant form, salvers, plates and bowls for milk and honey, gravy dishes and iridescent cups and chalices, vials, knives,

spoons, small flesh hooks and fruit dishes. These utensils were often of brass, bronze, stone and glass, as well as silver and gold, and sometimes even of precious stones, like onyx, jasper and cornelian. In the Capitoline Museum there are still preserved six little vases which Pompey the Great brought from the East.

A cistern or *aluvium* was arranged in the middle of an outside court, from which the *atrium* was entered through a vestibule called the *ostium*. It was considered unlucky in early times to place the left foot first on the threshold; and accordingly brides avoided the danger of such a mishap by being borne over in the arms of a slave.

A knocker announced one's approach, and a porter, who stayed in a little ante-room, opened the door. Sometimes this slave was chained near the front door with a dog for his companion. At the entrance of the house, as is seen to-day before that of the Tragic Poet in Pompeii, the words "Cave Canem" (Beware of the Dog) were engraved, and the canine image was even sometimes inscribed in mosaics. More commonly "salve" (Welcome) was wrought before the door. Wicker lamps, wreaths, garlands and branches of trees indicated joy and mirth. If myrtle or laurel was seen before the mansion there was a wedding; if cyprus, death.

So long as men in high position were simply "fighting heroes," they were content to live in dwellings such as we have just described, but although in those early days human nature was no doubt the same as at present, whatever record of their daily occupation was kept it unfortunately perished at the time of the devastation of the Gauls in 390 B.C. After the fire which

Nero set, the city was rebuilt of fireproof Alban stone; and some have even said that he burned it down on purpose to widen the streets and lay it out properly.

The houses were later sometimes built four stories high. A hall open to the sky and known as the peristyle was added, and adorned with flowers and shrubbery and encircled by a gallery. It was so called because it was surrounded by fine architectural columns.

The front door of the mansion was of polished marble or sometimes of bronze, and elaborately ornamented. The keys were of diverse shape, and even the locks and knockers were works of art. There were also bells outside, rung by means of a suspended cord, which not only announced visitors, but called the family together for meals, and were used as signals for rising. The watchmen, too, carried in their night patrol, bells, some like those now fastened to the necks of oxen, cows and horses in Europe, the tone of which was said to be like the voice of the nightingale.

About this time there was introduced for the use of the family, as well as for guests, a great eating-hall, called the *triclinium*. The term, like the word "recline," was derived from "kline," a bed, since it was arranged with three couches, a little higher than the table and overlooking it, each couch accommodating three guests. The men reclined, resting on their left elbows, while in earlier times the women ate standing. This custom was one adopted as late as the Second Punic War, at first only by the nobility; but afterwards even the common people reclined to eat their black bread and acorns.

It was Varro who said that the number of guests at a banquet should never be less than the Graces (three) nor more than the Muses (nine), though, as

the pictures show, there were sometimes eleven or twelve.

The public baths had restaurants attached for the use of the better class; all bathed before the evening meal, which occurred at nine o'clock. It was even said that no Roman could eat without first taking a bath. The fee for the poor was the smallest coin, equivalent to the "widow's mite" of the Bible. Children were admitted free. The public bath was conducted much like a Turkish bath of to-day; first the cold bath (*Frigidarium*); second, warm bath (*Tepidarium*); third, vapor bath (*Suadorium*); fourth, the bath proper, where a large marble basin was used and a wide urn; fifth, the perfume chamber. Women of high position, to keep their skin soft and white, bathed in goat's milk, Poppæa Sabina, the wife of Nero, having fifty goats kept for this purpose.

When the bath-room was first added to the equipments of the house the Romans took a bath only once a week for cleanliness; and it was not until the time of Cicero that the public *Thermæ* assumed a place of so much importance in Roman life.

The early luxurious public bath-houses, such as the Baths of Caracalla, were great club-rooms, to which men resorted largely for pleasure and mirth, lounging and gossiping in negligée Greek costume, while listening to music; and, on account of this, when any misfortune happened to the Empire the public bath was closed, the crime of taking a bath on a religious holiday being punished by law.

After the capture of the Eastern provinces, Syracuse, etc., picture galleries were built into private dwellings, and libraries became such a fad that people who could not even read the titles on the backs of

their books stocked these apartments the most ostentatiously. Rooms filled with these books, which were then *Papyrii*, may be seen in the Pompeian Museum to-day. For years the rolls of parchment, made from the bark of trees, remained undecipherable; but later, learned men from the East, by great patience, unwound the scrolls and brought to light many secrets of the past. The library-rooms also contained statues of Minerva (goddess of wisdom), and of the Muses, besides the busts of great men, etc.

At last the Roman house often consisted of as many as fifty rooms; and as land increased in value story after story was added, and flats like those of to-day were introduced. These had earlier been a group of diminutive one-story dwellings, such as St. Paul for twenty years inhabited near the Appian Way, when, brought as a prisoner to Rome, he "lived in his own hired house." The *domus* was a dwelling apart by itself, occupied by a family, while flats were called *insulae*, on account of their original grouping like little islands. The *domus* of the rich had inlaid floors, and the unfinished beams of the ceiling were often splendidly arched and exquisitely carved.

The tops of the houses were often utilized as lounging-places, called *solaris*; flower-gardens and fruit trees were planted on the roof, and diminutive aquariums were also extemporized.

The *atrium* at this more advanced period was still the most important room in the house. The ceiling was decorated with beaten gold, or frescoed in rich coloring, and the walls were adorned with pictures of the gods and scenes of love and war, or tapestried in Indian stuffs, while the floors were laid out in mosaic. Marble statues were hid in niches, and lamps of elabo-

rate workmanship were suspended from the ceiling, while sewing-tables and other articles of convenience were scattered about. There were costly stools and chairs upholstered in calamus blossoms, or eiderdown, and seats of osier, with huge hollow backs, sometimes inlaid with wood, ivory and gold, the throne of the Emperor being made entirely of ivory.

The upper stories of the Roman *domus* had windows protected with lattice-work, and later by semi-transparent mica. The *cubiculum*, or small bed-chamber, was situated here, separate ones being arranged for day and night. The sleeping apartment was located in the eastern part of the house, so that, sleeping or waking, the morning sun could be enjoyed, and to this chamber a dressing-room was frequently attached. The winter rooms were built on the south, and were then considered amply heated, but a *foculus*, or brazier filled with charcoal, was always ready for cold snaps; and in some of the wealthy dwellings heat was sent up through pipes from furnaces in the cellar. Smoky lamps did duty inside, while torches were used to light up the city.

At a short distance from Rome the rich had their pleasure villas, approached by an avenue of trees and surrounded by lovely gardens and hedges. The dining-room and guest-chamber were often built apart, so as to receive more warmth from the sun, and there were fountains and a large circus for exercise on foot and in the saddle. Besides these residences there were, in the lea of the mountains, farm-houses, which had wine-presses and cellars in which to store the wine. The farm hands slept on hard beds and lived chiefly on bread and onions, drinking spring water, while underground cells were built for the imprisonment of

refractory slaves. In this retired dwelling the passing traveler was hospitably received, and a double sheepskin beside the kitchen fire was furnished for his repose, while the well-stored pantry was at his service.

Parents and their married sons lived together, attended by slaves, the number of the latter being the test of position. The son of the Roman was never independent while the father lived, but the daughter was emancipated from home rule by marriage. The wedding could not be celebrated on a day marked with *ater* (black) on the calendar, neither on the 1st nor the 5th, the 7th nor 15th, nor any day in May or February. The betrothal was made by mutual friends, who met at the house of the maiden and wrote the marriage contract on tablets stamped with the seal of a notary and signed by the contracting parties. The espousal was made by placing a plain iron ring upon the fourth finger of the left hand, since they claimed that an artery extended directly from this finger to the heart. Here it remained through life, except in case of widowhood.

Ultra-fashionable people began the wedding ceremony at dawn, when the cock crew, and the voice of the turtle-dove was heard at sunrise. The flight of a crow was considered a good omen; and this together with the pure air and bright sunshine made all hearts glad. Maidens played the flute and the lyre during the ceremony. A priest sacrificed a sheep, and, invoking a blessing, hung the skin over the chairs in which the couple sat. The bride wore a yellow veil and a long, white garment, decked with many ribbons and bound with a girdle, which fastened with a valuable buckle. Her arms were bare and encircled with bracelets set with precious stones, while her fingers

were covered with costly rings, in strange contrast to the iron wedding-ring. The couple walked around the altar hand in hand, receiving the congratulations of friends. A youth carried a covered vase with the bride's jewels and trinkets and toys for children, while the mother bore a distaff and spindle after the manner of the wife of Tarquinius Priscus, who was celebrated for her industry, as well as according to the custom of women of every degree in those days, all of whom were expected to be patterns of thrift.

The white thorn torch, the proper thing for weddings, was now lighted, and the mother proceeded with the pine torch, while the multitude followed with wax candles, moving to the song of the "Talassius." When the maiden was brought home, according to the old Sabine ceremonies her husband met her in the *atrium*, and, saluting her with fire and water, gave her the keys of the mansion, to denote that she was mistress of all. She then seated herself upon a fleece, and medals, with images of the bride and groom, were circulated, and the "Talassius" was again sung. Before leaving, the guests each saluted the bride with a kiss.

The mysteries of the Roman lady's toilet are not surpassed by the conveniences of to-day. Seneca wrote that a single pair of earrings was often worth the revenue of a vast estate. They dressed their hair in a variety of styles, used combs, hair dyes, oils and cosmetics in great variety, as well as hairpins of curious workmanship, necklaces, gay caps, turbans, and ornamental wigs.

The wives and daughters spun and wove the family clothing and superintended the cooking and the grinding of the grain.

The table-customs in later times underwent great changes. For centuries the Roman family had sat down only once a day to a meal served hot, a plain dinner of mush with milk and butter, fruit and vegetables, having constituted the midday meal. But after Greek and Asiatic influences began to prevail, scientific cooking was introduced. The breakfast (*jentaculum*), consisting of bread and cheese and fruit, was taken at a very early hour, followed by luncheon (*prandium*) at twelve o'clock. The principal meal (*cæna*) was served at sunset. As time went on the hour grew later, until the midnight repast, in vogue ever since to some extent, came about.

The beginning of the meal was, as at present, an appetizer. The first course, as with the Italians of to-day, consisted of eggs; Pelorous oysters, or mullets; lettuce followed; and the second course was turbot drowned in oil, or sturgeon, Sicilian lampreys, herring from Lipara, venison, boar's flesh, etc., and among the delicacies were very rich capons, truffles, flamingoes, turtles, the dormouse, partridges and even peacocks. As in Chaucer's "Canterbury Tales":

"If I should tellen all the array,
Then would it occupy a summer's day."

These dishes were seasoned with "pepper from the Indian Isles and salt from Sarmatia." Sauces were numerous, and there were many vegetables: "radishes from Martigny, beets from Ascra, turnips from Thebes and apples from Tivoli, while nuts and cakes were served with spiced wines, cooled with snow brought from the Apennines, and carried round in little cabrioles lined with straw." Such delicacies were

prepared by Greek and Sicilian cooks, who were so skillful that they could "disguise a herring so that the Emperor could not tell it from a lamprey." The egg was at the beginning and the apple at the end, as Horace wrote: "*Ab ovo usque ad mala.*" (From the egg to the apple.)

In the highest circles the guests appeared at dinner in full dress, adorned with jewels and flowers. They laid aside their shoes when entering the dining-room, in order not to soil the finely inlaid couches. They were entertained by music while they dined, and slaves kept the rooms cool with fans; and some, as at the present day, carried napkins to wipe off the tables, which were of the richest wood; and from time to time they brought in finger-bowls.

The dress of the Roman was graded according to rank, and varied according to its uses. At first both men and women wore a tunic with a pallium thrown over it. This garment, for the use of the rich, was made of silk, and fastened with a colored girdle, and, when worn by women, had large sleeves and was held with a gold chain. Slaves wore a long woolen tunic, reaching from neck to knees, and girded with a cord; while in winter an inside tunic was added and long hose with heavy shoes. The laborers wore felt hats to protect them from the sun; but the higher classes, when necessary, covered their heads with a fold of the toga. A master when about to emancipate his slave took him to the Temple of *Feronia*, the goddess of freedom, and, having his head shaved, placed upon it the *pileus*, or "cap of liberty." This was of peculiar form, and made of undyed wool.

The *toga* was a robe of honor, used only by the Patrician class, and was made ample in dimensions

and of costly stuff. On the occasion of public calamities and of feasts the toga was laid aside. The *laccerna* was still another over-garment covering the toga. The feminine garment corresponding to the toga was the *stola*, which fell to the ankles. The *penula* was used by both sexes, but especially by athletes, and was fastened at the right shoulder by a buckle, leaving the right arm free. The *toga pretexta* was worn until the age of sixteen, while the *toga virilis*, which differed from the latter by having a purple border, was affected by older people.

The extreme dress of the rich was high-colored; and the Roman fop carried a parasol, painted his eyelids and face, curled his hair in ringlets, and when he talked lisped like a woman.

The footgear of the Romans ranged from the sole sandal, made of wood or palmetto, brass, copper or iron, and was often highly ornamented. Senators used to wear a boot of red, with tops of black, while women and effeminate men wore shoes of soft, white leather. The *soccus* was a slipper, and the *olea* was a very light sandal, and the *calceus* covered the foot except the toes.

The rich wrapped their babies in purple scarfs and fine white shawls, tied with a band of gold; while the poor bound them with broad fillets of common cloth. A hollow shield was sometimes used for a cradle, and when the child was a year old earrings were put into his ears and a *bulla* hung about his neck. This was inscribed with the family name, for the purpose of identification, and was often highly ornamented and contained charms against evil. The children of the poor, to establish their identity, wore disks of leather. These were put aside when the boy was old enough

to wear the *toga pretexta*, but sometimes one of gold was worn as a badge of honor until he put on the *toga virilis*.

The education of the young was confined to the accomplishments, and until Grecian culture came in the Romans, disdaining intellectual progress, made no advance in mental attainments.

Pens were first made of the reed or calamus, and afterwards of goose quills. The stylus, used to write on wax-covered tablets, was made of metal, and then often used as a weapon; but afterwards to avoid accidents it was of ivory or bone. The word volume sprung from the fact that the calfskins used as books were prepared in long, narrow strips and were rolled over a staff, the whole being called a *volumen* . These were the volumes afterwards arranged in the private libraries and on the shelves of the book-stores.

Horses with saddle-bags were used for conveyance, but ladies were carried in rose-scented litters decorated with garlands and borne by eight men. There were rough wagons and rude cars, and newly designed canals. Taverns were scattered along the road, but the inn-keepers were forbidden to give fire or water to Rome's proscribed, since fire and water, as seen in the marriage contract, were emblems of confidence and good cheer.

The Romans were very fond of outdoor sports, as well as indoor amusements. It is said that Nero was playing the game of "*latrunculi*" at the time that Rome was burning, and not fiddling as formerly supposed. Although the Romans had a great variety of musical instruments and were fond of dancing, their holiday-time was spent for the most part in witnessing

the dreadful sports of the amphitheater, and in races of all kinds, wrestling matches, bear, dog and cock fights, etc.

Funeral rites were kept up for eight days, the body remaining unburied or unburned for fear of suspended animation. At last the obsequies were celebrated at twilight.

The funeral of the great was public. If the deceased had received a crown of laurel it was placed upon the dead man's brow. The official mourners wore masks, as they do at present in Italy, and bore the military and civic prizes which the departed had won. They chanted lamentations and dirges in praise of the virtues of the dead, while the real mourners walked behind clothed in black or blue, the daughters with hair disheveled and beating their breasts. Not only the hired mourners wept; but narrow-necked lachrymal vases were provided to hold the tears which the relatives shed at the funeral. These tears were afterwards mixed with perfumes and placed in the urns holding the ashes, which had curses inscribed on the outside against the violators of these carefully preserved remains. In some instances prayers and queer epitaphs for the dead were written out on slabs scattered along the highway. Near relatives themselves often bore the ivory couch adorned with gold on which the body rested, though Cæsar was carried by magistrates and Augustus by Senators. As in the case of Cæsar's funeral there was an oration afterwards delivered in the Forum, where the procession stopped and listened. Sometimes gladiators were hired to contend around the flaming pyre; and after the ashes were gathered the friends departed repeating the words: "*Vale, Vale.*" Sylla was the first of

his gens to be burned, as burial was the early method of disposing of the body.

Some of the streets were endless cemeteries, the ruins of which are still seen in the Appian Way outside of Rome and on the "Streets of the Tombs" in Pompeii. When the tombs contained urns for the ashes they were called *columbaria* (dove-cots), on account of niches which were covered with lids and bore inscriptions.

Rome, wherever she went, carried with her the art of engineering and building, the amphitheaters at Verona, Nismes, Treves and Arles being fine examples of early Roman architecture. The first basilicas were those of Æmilia and Julia, built by Cæsar; afterwards the Baths of Agrippa at the rear of the Pantheon and the Pantheon itself were erected, the stability of the arch being illustrated in this building. By such architectural structures Augustus was enabled to boast that he found Rome brick and left it marble.

On the 4th of September the great games of the Roman circus introduced by Tarquinius Priscus were celebrated. The people occupied stagings erected above the circular race-course which gave it the name of circus. Two Biga chariots, an example of which is seen to-day in the Vatican, were drawn around the circus seven times to the sound of a trumpet; and as now, bets were made on the speed of the horses. These were brought from their stalls in the midst of the applause of the spectators. Sometimes a Biga would be overturned, or a driver, losing the reins, was thrown to the ground. There were also sham battles and sea fights in extemporized ponds, and athletic games and discus-throwing.

Gladiatorial shows, known as early as Servius Tullus and the Tarquins, now became combats between man and wild beast, and were made regular institutions of the State. These cost some thirty-five thousand dollars, which were levied upon the colonists and poor citizens. The circus was succeeded by the amphitheater, the first building by this name having been erected by Cæsar. The Colosseum, called the Flavian Amphitheater, completed in Titus' reign in 80 A.D., was the largest and most conspicuous.

The Roman children also had their gayeties. The girls, even in the early days of the Empire, played with rude dolls, the first example of this plaything being named from Poppæa, Nero's wife, and called *Puppe* (or *poupée*), still the name for doll in German and French. The boys, like the youngsters of to-day, had clappers, then made of the tusks of elephants and huckle-bones taken from sheep, goats and other animals. They also tried games of chance, draughts, checkers and dice, by which they learned to gamble, though this practice was forbidden, except at the Saturnalia and by the aged.

At the time of the beginning of the monarchy vice and superstition had gained a lasting sway. The old theology had lost its repute, and modern philosophy did little to supply its place. The doctrines of Zeno and Epicurus held divided sway in the Roman world. That of the former was that a man's business was "to do his duty regardless of pain, pleasure, poverty, honor or disgrace." That of Epicurus was that happiness could not exist without pleasure, but that there could be no real enjoyment without the practice of virtue. The sensualists eagerly adopted the former part of this precept, but ignored the latter.

Life to the early Roman had been serious business, for the city had been founded upon the worship of the gods. When the people went abroad, and when they came back, they gave these deities thanks for their preservation and hung their armor and staff beside their images. Soon after the fall of the Republic, however, people began to adopt the mystic worship of the East, and the old deities lost influence. Astrology was greatly cultivated and the revelations of the stars influenced many lives. As has been seen Marius was accompanied by Martha, a Syrian soothsayer, and the Magi were an important element in the State; while "Tiberius sitting in his palace at Capri, surrounded by the Chaldean astrologers," is the subject of an ancient picture.

Nevertheless the worship of the one true God already existed, since Jews abounded in the Empire, and Virgil in his writings is thought to have imitated Isaiah.

In all these shades of belief there was a new leaven working through every strata of society, and the principles of a new religion were about to awaken the world from its slumbers.

CHAPTER XXX

REIGN OF AUGUSTUS.—WRITERS OF THE AUGUSTAN AGE.—TIBERIUS, CALIGULA, CLAUDIUS.

29 B.C.—54 A.D.

OCTAVIUS acted entirely for effect when he assembled the Senate after his return to Rome and expressed the desire to retire to private life, and a wish to restore the old Constitution. He had arranged this farce with his partisans, and only with seeming reluctance consented to assume the care of the Empire for five years. All accepted his excuses as sincere, and competed with one another in lavishing honors upon him. The title of Augustus was accorded him by the Senate, and he was henceforth known as Cæsar Augustus. The eighth month was called August after him, as the seventh had been named July in honor of Julius Cæsar.

During his reign of forty years Augustus continued to receive the unanimous co-operation of both Senate and people; and it was universally felt that he wielded his power for the public good. His administration was marked by such luster that to this day no greater praise can be conferred upon a sovereign than to name his reign an Augustan Age.

As far back as Marius the idea of perpetual consulship had originated, and ever since the First Triumvirate sovereign power had been an accomplished fact. The authority now conferred upon Octavius was the same which Cæsar had wished to grasp,

and which he might have attained had he not prematurely created a suspicion that he coveted sovereignty. As in former times, the rule was to be renewed at intervals, and at first many believed that the Republic would be restored. Augustus, however, with great adroitness had his lease of five years extended to ten, and temporary power was soon converted into a despotic monarchy.

At the commencement of the reign of Augustus there was no bond of human sympathy, and no one, as formerly, was working for the amelioration of the condition of the oppressed. Wealth was so unequally divided that there were only about four thousand people in the kingdom well enough off to accept the position of knight, which cost the equivalent of sixteen thousand dollars. There was no longer need of free labor, since many slaves had been gained by conquest, and large numbers of these, who in their own country had been on a social level with their present masters, were so cultured that they were often employed in the most important departments of the State.

Sicily was still suffering from the late wars, and Corsica and Sardinia were infested with robbers who hid in the mountains and were like a pestilence in the seas. That the Alpine provinces were not much better off may be inferred from the fact that Augustus himself while traveling through this section was robbed of all his possessions, so that he took vengeance by enslaving a large part of the inhabitants of Selassi; and, by settling Roman citizens in these provinces, established safe communication with Gaul.

Notwithstanding these grievances under Roman government, the people of Gaul were well satisfied with the result of twenty years of Roman rule, and

Latin was soon adopted as the language of the more cultivated.

Augustus had many precedents to steer his course clear from the shoals and quicksands which had wrecked the ambition of so many. Antony was blamed for the proscription, and accordingly Augustus' leniency as a monarch was unduly appreciated. He took the title of Prince, since that of Imperator was supposed to mean simply the generalship of the army; nevertheless by assuming the former he was endowed with absolute power. As "Prince of the Senate he was supreme in the city, and as tribune he represented the people"; and when in 8 B.C. he absorbed the censorial power he deprived the Centuriate Assembly of its prestige. Through the office of Pontifex Maximus, which he gained by the death of Lepidus, allotted the latter when deprived of his share of the Triumvirate, Augustus controlled the religion of the State. His bodyguard of soldiers, when he assumed the prætorship, was for the first time called the Prætorian Guard. Thus it is seen that before he was elected Emperor Augustus was already an autocrat.

In spite of the grandeur and power which all these offices brought him, Octavius, unlike his successors, did not take upon himself any considerable pomp of State. He lived in the same family domus and dressed and walked the streets like any Roman gentleman of consular rank, demanding no special respect in speech or action. Augustus endeavored to carry out all the wise plans of the great Cæsar, the eternal principles of freedom being embodied in his laws. After this no freedman could be tortured nor a Roman soldier scourged, though those in the allied armies were not so well used.

Now the entire civilized universe was open to the Roman citizen, however humble; for the Italian nation bordered the Mediterranean and reached as far north as the British Channel, the Alps and the Black Sea. It extended as far south as the African Desert and in the east to the borders of the Euphrates, while in the west the Atlantic was its boundary line; and the whole peninsula was called Italy. In view of the magnitude of the nation there was a universal census taken.

There had been a current feeling throughout the world that a great Deliverer and peaceful Prince was to be expected at this time; for there was a page in the Book of the Sibyls, as well as in the prophecies of the Old Testament, which pointed to this event; and some of the Romans thought that the good rule of Augustus indicated him as the Holy One. Eight years after he received his power as Emperor, and forty years before his death, Augustus issued the decree that all the world should return to the home of their forefathers to be taxed, and thus it was destined that Christ should be born in the village of Bethlehem.

Herod, a Syrian by birth, had fought in the army of Brutus and Cassius, and after their defeat and death Antony had made him King of Judæa; and Octavius confirmed this appointment after the Battle of Actium. He was the Herod who had all the babes in Bethlehem put to death in order to take the life of Christ; for though he had great ability, his character was execrable, and he died miserably a few years after his famous decree was carried out.

For a time there was an inclination among the people to welcome the peace which was established in the

reign of Augustus, and literature and all the fine arts revived. But despotic government is ever like a millstone round the people's neck, and soon the leaders began to look longingly back to the early days of civil strife, when the enthusiasm of the multitude could be roused in behalf of their measures by eloquent speeches from the Rostra. Octavius, however, kept the common people from grumbling by always having abundance in the city and amusing them with festivals and a variety of other diversions.

When the great general, Agrippa, son-in-law to Augustus, succumbed to the climate in Pannonia, whither he had been sent with an army, Augustus forced his stepson Tiberius to discard his own wife in order to marry Julia, the wife of Agrippa and Augustus' daughter by Scribonia. From this moment Tiberius' natural genial character was changed by grief into a silent, cruel and morose disposition; and from a true and ingenuous husband he became a monstrous tyrant.

Livia Drusilla, whom Augustus had divorced from Tiberius Claudius in order to marry her himself, had, besides Tiberius, another son, Drusus, who had marched against the Germans while Tiberius and Agrippa were quelling disturbances in Pannonia, Dacia and Dalmatia. Drusus died that same year by a fall from his horse, his death having been foretold by a prophetess. He was a man of great virtue, and lamented by all the Romans.

About this time the great battle near Detmold was fought by Arminius, in which the whole army of Quinctilius Varus was cut off, leaving only a few fugitives to go back and tell the tale. Augustus was now an old man and feeble, and when he heard the disas-

trous news he cried out in despair: "Varus! Varus! give me back my legions!" Then, calling Tiberius back from Germany, he entrusted him with the affairs of State.

The last years of Augustus' life were further saddened by the death of Agrippa's children, and by that of his intended heir, Marcellus, who was the son of his sister Octavia, and had lived with his mother in Julius Cæsar's villa at Bauli. But even more cutting than these sorrows was his chagrin at the wickedness of the two Julias, his daughter and his niece, who exceeded all Roman women in vice, and soon became such a public disgrace that at last Augustus was obliged to send them into exile.

When making a journey to Beneventum with Tiberius, Augustus died, at Nola, on the afternoon of the 18th of August, 14 A.D., saying to his wife with his last breath: "Farewell, my dear Livia, and do not forget our long, happy married life." Notwithstanding this touching adieu, it is thought by some that Livia and Tiberius both connived at his death. He was seventy-six years of age, and had reigned as Emperor forty-eight years, besides his ten years as dictator.

Cæsar Augustus is said to have been a little under the average size, but well proportioned. He had curly brown hair and a remarkably pleasant expression. Although temperate in his habits, he loved gambling. He spoke and wrote well, and was accustomed to commit to memory all his public speeches. It is said that he had a great fear of lightning, and that in a very heavy thunder-storm he would retire to the inmost recesses of his house and recline on an eider-down couch. Toward the close of his life Augustus

became more and more gentle and courteous, adopting the utmost simplicity in his appointments. When honored with the title, "Father of His Country," he said: "Now I have gained all I ever desired, and I only pray that I may deserve until my death the universal love of my countrymen."

The Augustan Age was an era when literature and art were in such a flourishing condition that poets sang of its glory and proclaimed the merits of Augustus to the skies. The people had become so heartsore and weary of strife and bloodshed that the rule of a monarch who cultivated peace was the harbinger of learning and a more advanced civilization. Yet from the point of view of modern civilization the intelligence at that time was absurd. There were no newspapers, no regulated mail system, and no public conveyance for travelers, while in the lower grades of schools reading and arithmetic were the principal studies. Children learned to read from blocks, and writing was taught upon the wax tablet with the stylus, these being pointed at one end and flat at the other in order to erase the marks—*vertere stylum*, meaning to reverse the pencil, that is, to correct or erase.

The "Twelve Tables" were the text-books from which the children derived a smattering of reading and writing, as well as of the laws of the land as they existed at the close of the Second Punic War. Cato prepared a kind of encyclopedia for the instruction of the young, which was called the "Origines," and which recounted the traditions and history of the Romans up to the time of the author's death.

The knowledge of medicine came from the "Twelve Cities of the Etruscans," from which so much Roman

culture originated. Up to the third century B.C. the *pater familias* had been the family physician, and Cato in his time reviled the foreign doctors; but later these practitioners flourished in Rome.

Marcus Terentius Varro was styled the most learned of the Romans. St. Augustine drew largely from Varro's "Divine Antiquities" for his "City of God." Out of five hundred books that Varro wrote, only one has come down to our time entire, a treatise on agriculture, written when he was eighty years old, besides three volumes of a large work on the Latin language, which shows how very primitive that tongue was at the time of his death in 28 B.C., at the very beginning of the Golden Age of Augustus.

Of Cæsar's works only his "Commentaries" remain. They were put into form while in winter quarters, though actually written during his campaigns.

Cicero studied law with Scævola the augur, earlier, and afterwards, besides his public orations, he wrote on theology, law, philosophy and politics, while later he composed verse which hardly added to his reputation. His literature is chiefly valuable as chronicles of the events of that time, handed down in incomparable style, while in his diplomatic writings he displays acuteness and familiarity with all the crookedness and wiles of the statesmen of the day. His "Amicitia" purports to be a dissertation of Lælius to the augur, who was the latter's son-in-law; and his "De Senectute" was written as though it were the opinions of Cato the censor, developed in the presence of Æmilianus and Lælius when they were on a visit to him. Eight hundred of his letters are preserved, and his confidential correspondence is piquant in the extreme.

The great age of Latin poetry extends from about 50 B.C. till the death of Ovid in 17 A.D. There are three marked divisions, each with a distinct character of its own; the first is represented by Lucretius and Catulus, the second by Virgil and Horace, and the last by Ovid.

Titus Lucretius Carus was a native of Italy and was born 95 B.C. In his "De Rerum Natura," one of the world's greatest didactic poems, the philosophy of Epicurus is brought out. He is said to rival Tibullus in softness and flexibility, in originality and taste he vies with Horace, in spirit with Virgil, and in vehemence with Juvenal. Lucretius died by his own hand on the 15th of October, 55 B.C., the same day on which Virgil assumed the *toga virilis*.

Valerius Catulus the author, was the grandson of Marius' great colleague, the first Catulus, and the son of Catulus, the intimate friend of Cæsar. He was born in Verona and wrote most of his valuable productions in his villa on the Lake of Garda, the Benacus of the Romans. He also had a villa at Tibur (Tivoli).

He attended Memmius when he went as prætor to Bithynia, but was disappointed at the non-fulfillment of hopes for the betterment of his fortunes, and at the same time he complained of the parsimony of Memmius. Some of the most charming and perfect of his shorter poems express his delight on exchanging the dull, sultry climate of the provinces for the freedom and keen enjoyment of his voyage home on the yacht built for him on the Euxine. Then he extolled the beauty and peace of his lakeside villa, when weary with his foreign travel.

Although he used to write of Cæsar in opprobrious

language, the latter only made light of it, and often invited Catulus to sup with him the same day of the libel.

Sallust was born in 86 B.C., the year that Marius died. Of Plebeian family, he was a partisan of Cæsar and accompanied him to Africa. He became immensely rich while left there as governor, and on returning retired to his vast estates on the Quirinal, where he spent the rest of his life till 34 B.C. in literary pursuits. "Catiline" and the "Jugurthan War" were his two principal works, he being the first to write real Roman history.

There is much dispute whether the "Biographies of Distinguished Commanders" and the "Life of Atticus," attributed to Cornelius Nepos, the Roman historian, and friend of Catulus and Cicero, were really written by him.

Of Livy's one hundred and forty-two historic volumes, called "Annals," only thirty-five survived, though of all, except two, valuable epitomes were preserved. Livy was born in 59 B.C., the year of Cæsar's first consulship, and was thus eleven years younger than Horace. He was so prominent a figure of the times that a certain Spaniard is said to have traveled the whole distance to Rome on purpose to see him. He was honest and candid and possessed a wonderful command of his native tongue.

Though Horace and Virgil both published some of their best works before the Battle of Actium, they belonged to the Augustan Age, and the brilliancy of all other poets was obscured by the luster of their name. Horace was born in 65 B.C. At the age of twelve he was taken to Rome and educated. His father guarded him against the temptations of city

life with great care, and, like all the well-educated youths of the day, he was sent to Athens to complete his course of study. Having fled from Brutus' army at Philippi, he obtained a clerkship in the Treasury at starvation wages, and was obliged to live for a time on vegetables and water. He wrote pleasantly of his introduction to his great friend Mæcenas, who made him a present of his Sabine farm, and afterwards got him the position as head of a college at Tibur (Tivoli), fifteen miles from Rome. Here the remains of his house are now seen. He describes his rural life there in his "Epistles," and refers to the interchange of city and country existence very charmingly. His verse still fascinates by its vividness and appropriate diction, as well as strong common sense. He died in 8 B.C. in his fifty-seventh year, just after the death of his friend Mæcenas. He has been styled the "gay Horace," and is regarded as Rome's lyric minstrel.

Virgil was born at Mantua in 70 B.C. He studied Greek at Naples, and at an early age became a friend of Mæcenas, at whose request he wrote the "Georgics." The rest of his life was occupied in finishing the *Æneid*, which took, in all, eleven years; it was not quite completed when he lay on his deathbed, and, not appreciating its merits, he ordered it to be destroyed; but it was revised by his friends, Varus Rufus and Plotius, and published by the order of the Emperor Augustus, whom he had accompanied in a tour through Greece just before his death at Brindisi in September, 19 B.C. A monument to him is now seen between Naples and Pozzuoli.

Amiable in character and simple in manner, Virgil's life slipped away in study; and the results of his

labor are preserved in his poems. Though his style and versification are most finished, his method of writing was diffuse, it being his habit to accumulate a large quantity of manuscript, from which he boiled down his choice stanzas. His works were introduced as text-books during his own generation; in the Middle Ages it was heresy not to admire him; and from that time to this day Virgil has been the most popular of Latin writers. While Lucretius and Catulus were Roman in style, Cicero, Horace and Virgil are said to have completed the Helenizing process begun by Ennius.

No man had ever been so proverbial a patron of letters as Mæcenas. He called around him on the Esquiline Hill a coterie of authors and poets who were delighted with the companionship of this effeminate and luxurious literary man.

Lucius Varus Rufus, who revised Virgil's *Æneid* after the latter's death, was also an intimate friend of Horace, and was celebrated by the latter as the epic poet of his time. The poet Caius Helvius Cinna was torn to pieces by the rabble after Cæsar's death, being mistaken for Lucius Cornelius Cinna.

Ovid was the last of the poets of the Augustan Age, Tacitus coming afterwards, in Nero's time, and Juvenal in the reign of Claudius. He belonged to the same school of writers as Catulus, Calvus, Tibullus and Propertius. Ovid was born in 43 B.C., the year of Cicero's death, which marks the close of Republican literature. His life in Sulmo, high up among the Apennines, enabled him to add the charm of natural scenery to his own romantic creations. Although he based his hopes of immortality as a writer on his "*Metamorphosi*" and his "*Helleutica*," a didactic

poem, he had already written the tragedy, "Medea," which was considered his master-piece. Of this only two lines are now extant.

Great magnificence attended the funeral of Augustus, Tiberius pronouncing the eulogy in the Senate-chamber. Divine honors were decreed him, and temples were built to his memory and for his worship. The superstitious were assured of his divinity when Numerus Atticus took an oath that he had seen Augustus ascend to the skies.

After the death of his two grandchildren in 4 A.D., Augustus had adopted Tiberius as his heir, and from that time the latter had taken part in administering all departments of the government. Already he had gone through the routine of military succession and was an army leader of the highest order. As military tribune, in 20 B.C., he had restored the eagles taken from Crassus by the Parthians; and after constant wars in Dalmatia, Pannonia and Germany he had conquered Illyricum. He now assumed entire control of public affairs, and with him the last vestige of the old Roman Constitution disappeared.

At first Tiberius showed considerable interest in the moral development of his people, refusing to have a temple erected to himself, saying that he preferred to have his subjects regard him as only mortal. But the mad jealousy of his disposition displayed itself in one of his first acts, which was to assassinate Agrippa, the last surviving grandson of Augustus, and a man popular with the Romans.

Tiberius also conceived a special animosity for Germanicus, the son of the elder Drusus, and one of the noblest characters in the history of the Empire. Germanicus had received a magnificent triumph for suc-

cessfully winding up affairs in Germany with Arminius; but afterwards, when sent to the East, he was poisoned by Cneus Piso, it is thought at the instigation of Tiberius. When the charming Agrippina, wife of Germanicus, came home with the body of her husband in order to bury it with the rest of the Cæsars, Tiberius, under the influence of his wicked minister, Sejanus, and on the ground that she was plotting against the State, banished her and her children to the Island of Pandataria, where all but little Caius, or Caligula, and one sister, Agrippina, died of starvation. The people, however, had the sincerest compassion for her hard lot and paid the greatest honors to the memory of her husband. Her reclining statue is in the Capitoline Museum in Rome.

Sejanus' influence over Tiberius increased to such an extent that he finally induced him to believe that he was tired of governing, so that he at last left Rome forever, and soon after retired to Capri, never again venturing inside the city farther than the gardens of the Vatican.

Tiberius lived in the Island of Capri almost continuously for six years. This charming spot had first come into notice under Augustus, who, appreciating its beauty, erected palaces upon it and built aqueducts and baths; and Tiberius filled the island, now transformed into a cultivated garden, with nymphs and fascinating women, and he also built the villas in honor of the Twelve Gods, the ruins of which are seen to-day. But in his fits of madness he was in the habit of throwing victims by the hundred into the sea, over the precipices which one still sees as one approaches. At the present day Capri is a most

attractive place to visit, both on account of its historic associations and its marvelous charm.

Tiberius at length grew distrustful of Sejanus, who had made himself almost absolute at Rome; and in 31 A.D., when he suspected him of trying to take Agrippina from her island prison and win her for himself, he hired assassins to kill him. Sejanus had been the first to assemble outside the city, in one camp, the Prætorian cohorts, which ever after were a menace to sovereign and people.

Finally Tiberius returned from Capri to Campania, and there he was taken critically ill. One day, the 16th of March, 37 A.D., as he lay on a couch at the old villa of Lucullus in Misenum near Naples, the physician, who felt his pulse, suddenly said that he was dying. Thereupon the courtiers, feeling sure that he had already expired, summoned Caligula, whom Tiberius had adopted as his heir, and congratulated him on the succession; but consternation seized all when Tiberius suddenly revived and called for food. Rising to the emergency, however, Caligula ordered the same assassin who had killed Sejanus to take the Emperor's life. Accordingly the wretch smothered him with a pillow. Tiberius is said to have looked up and gasped: "In Caligula I have bred a serpent for the Roman people."

In the East the excellent government which Augustus had built up was in good working order, and it was only the people in the immediate vicinity of Rome, mostly Senators and men of rank who suffered from Tiberius' cruelty. It is said by some commentators that Pontius Pilate wrote to Tiberius an account of Christ's miracles and crucifixion; and that the Emperor called the attention of the Senate to the facts. Since

this body, however, did not see the fitness of placing Christ among the Roman gods, as he recommended, Tiberius contented himself with issuing a proclamation that the sect called Christians should not be molested. After the cruelties practiced during the last years of the Republic, the death of one man seemed worthy of so little consideration that the authorities, though not especially prejudiced against Christ, delivered him into the hands of his murderers simply to satisfy the clamoring populace.

Caligula was the only member left of Germanicus' family. He had been thus named by the Germans when, with his father and mother, he had roamed the forests of Germany, a pet for the people, and to please them wore little German shoes, called "*caliga*" (the foot-soldier's shoe).

Caligula was brought up by his great-grandmother, Livia Drusilla, and afterwards by his grandmother, Antonia, who was the daughter of Antony. By his pleasing address he had ingratiated himself into Tiberius' favor and thus had assured his succession. It is said that one of his chief delights in childhood was stealing away from his guardians in order to witness the brutal sports and executions which were never lacking in the amusements of the Roman people, and that the human agonies he then observed no doubt served as an incentive to his future ingenious inventions of torture.

Nevertheless, for a time he ruled well, and this era is quoted as the most felicitous on record for Rome. "From the rising of the sun to its setting over the continent, to the isles and beyond the sea, there was no sentiment but joy. Italy, Rome, Europe and Asia held constant holiday; for under no other Emperor

had men tasted such repose or been permitted such tranquillity and enjoyment of their own property. Noble and Plebeian, master and slave, all partook of one common happiness, as if it had been a Saturnalia."

For two or three seasons this prosperity continued, until, through dissipation, Caligula fell dangerously ill and the Romans were in despair, the populace surrounding his palace and filling his court, waiting for new bulletins each hour. Many vowed their willingness to sacrifice their lives to redeem his, and finally it seemed that their prayers were answered; but the germs of incipient madness were developed by disease, so that, throwing off all restraint, he soon became uncontrollable. He even put to death those who had promised to give up their lives for his, saying that he would teach them to keep their word to the gods.

Caligula constructed a pontoon bridge from Baiaë to Pozzuoli, out of the ships chartered for the purpose of furnishing corn to the people, thus causing a famine. This bridge was like the Ponte Vecchio in Florence and the Rialto in Venice, lined with taverns and shops, only Caligula's had, besides, groves of trees on either side, furnishing grateful shade to the passers-by. By way of amusement Caligula had the crowds which came to see the wonderful structure thrown into the Mediterranean, and when the sea was so calm that all swam safely to land, he bewailed his bad fortune. He often expressed a wish that the people of Rome had but a single neck that he might destroy them all with one blow; and he was about to feed out half of the Senate and three-quarters of the Equestrian Order to the wild beasts, in order to whet their savage appetites before the gladiatorial shows, when Chorea, a Roman Senator, plunged a dagger into his heart as he was going

home from one of the exhibitions in the arena. This was in 41 A.D., and he was only twenty-nine years old when his career of vice and infamy was thus cut short. It is a curious fact that the hold of this man on the people was such, that in spite of his brutality, there were many in the city, besides his friends and relatives, who mourned his loss and gave him an honored burial. His wife even threw herself in the way of the assassins in order to die with him.

As we shall see there were many others also of the early Emperors who, never being obliged to curb any evil passion, became the worst of madmen.

The office of Emperor had become one of such peril that no one dared to become Caligula's successor; and Germanicus' brother, Claudius, the only remaining relative of the Imperial family, when he heard the great noise connected with Caligula's assassination, hid himself for fear he might become the next victim. But the soldiers hunted him out and had him proclaimed Emperor, first by the Prætorian Guard and then by the Senate.

On his accession Claudius declared an amnesty for all persons except the murderers of Caligula and one or two other criminals; and it appears that the cruelties attributed to his later reign happened through the influence of his wives and their favorites. Notwithstanding that he had always been recognized as weak-minded, his reign was a laborious one. The conquest of Britain, the construction of the Claudian Aqueduct and the building of the Harbor of Ostia are among his painstaking achievements.

Augustus, having decided that Rome had reached the climax of her greatness and that henceforth wars would bring less glory and more defeat, had relin-

quished the idea of subduing the world, and in his will had advised his successors "to confine the Empire within the limits which nature had seemed to make permanent bulwarks." Claudius, in his inroads into Britain, was the only Roman ruler during the first century who attempted to break over this custom.

The army which Claudius sent to England conquered Caractacus, a most valiant barbarian chief, and the latter and his wife and daughter were taken and carried before Claudius at Rome. Caractacus, dazzled by the splendor of the Eternal City, exclaimed: "How strange that a people who enjoy such magnificence should envy Carradog his humble cottage in Britain." Claudius and one of his wives went over to England, and while there celebrated a triumph.

Of Claudius' four wives, Messalina the third, after all these ages, is still pronounced the most depraved woman the world has ever seen. She gained a complete ascendancy over the weak king, controlling the affairs of the Empire and accumulating immense riches by selling offices and dignities to the highest bidder. All the Romans who possessed a spark of pristine virtue were hunted down, until finally Claudius, who had already divorced two wives, was obliged to have her openly murdered to appease the people. After this, by decree of the Senate, he was permitted to marry his niece Agrippina, the wicked daughter of Germanicus and the gentle Agrippina. She soon murdered the Emperor, some say because she thought he was about to have her put to death, and others claim that she was afraid he was going to annul an edict by which he had given the kingdom to her son Nero, instead of the rightful heir, Claudius' son Britannicus.

CHAPTER XXXI

NERO.—OTHO, VITELLIUS, GALBA.—THE FLAVIAN FAMILY.—VESPASIAN.—DOMITIAN, NERVA, TRAJAN.—TITUS.—ANTONINUS PIUS, HADRIAN, MARCUS AURELIUS.

54 A.D.—180 A.D.

NERO'S real name was Lucius Domitius Ahenobarbus. When Claudius married the latter's mother he was thirteen years old, and three years afterward, Claudia, the daughter of the Emperor, was given to him as a wife. He was well brought up by the philosopher, Seneca, and though weak and indolent, he made creditable progress in his studies. After the murder of Claudius in 54 A.D. he was proclaimed Emperor by the soldiers and the Senate. The first five years of his reign were years of clemency, and have been called the "Quinquennium Neronis," since he left the administration in the hands of Seneca and Burrhus and gave up his time to dissipation.

Nero, fearing that his mother, in her jealousy, would support the claims of the real heir, Britannicus, poisoned the latter, and ever after spent more and more of his time with his comrades in vice. They were in the habit of passing their nights roaming through the streets, robbing pedestrians and sometimes breaking into the houses of the citizens. Wishing to marry Poppæa, the beautiful but very dissolute wife of one of his generals, Otho, he sent the latter off to fight in Lusitania. But Agrippina so endeavored to thwart

Poppæa's plans in favor of Claudia, Nero's wife, that Poppæa influenced Nero to have his mother assassinated. At a festival near Baïæ, having loaded the awning of a pleasure-barge with lead, he invited her out for a sail, taking care that the canopy should fall and capsize the boat. Agrippina, however, was saved and floated ashore on a part of the wreck. She then imprudently despatched a messenger to tell her son not to be alarmed, since she had escaped the fearful disaster with only a slight wound. Nero, understanding the sarcasm, and knowing that she would take vengeance for the deed, sent assassins to Agrippina's villa, who murdered her with such despatch that Nero said that "it was very well done."

Nero's divorce from Claudia and his marriage with Poppæa soon followed. After this, freed from even the restraint of the fear of his mother, his character declined with greater rapidity than ever. Burrhus soon died, and Seneca, who was thought to be one of a conspiracy against Nero, was sentenced to take his own life. Nero then grew so idiotically vain and covetous of praise that he used to compete with the charioteers in the circus and even fight in gladiatorial shows.

In 64 A.D. the dreadful conflagration that Nero is said to have set himself destroyed over half the city of Rome. It is claimed by some that he did this wishing to rebuild the city more magnificently, while most believe that it was in order that he might enjoy the terror and misery of the people. During the burning of the city Nero sat in his private theater playing on his flute and singing, while the story of the "Destruction of Troy" was being rehearsed; hence the saying: "Nero fiddled while Rome was burning." The fire

raged for five days, destroying temples, palaces, libraries and priceless works of art; but Nero levied such extortionate taxes in the provinces, and employed so many workmen in rebuilding the city, that it soon arose in greater magnificence, his Golden House, the gardens of which were on the site of the present Colosseum, being one of the principal ornate features.

Soon after the death of Christ the Jews had been scattered all over the Roman Empire, and the fame of Christianity spread over three-quarters of the known world. The doctrine preached by Paul, who was then taken to Rome in chains, roused Nero and his courtiers to a frenzy; and the most dreadful untruths concerning Christians were scattered abroad, which prejudiced many against their religion.

When Nero found himself unpopular on account of what he had done, he falsely accused the Christians of the crime and followed them with great persecutions. Tacitus, the renowned historian, writes thus: "In their death they were made subjects of sport, being covered with the hides of wild beasts and worried to death by dogs, or nailed to the cross, or covered with pitch and burned as torches to light the streets." Nero offered the gardens of his Golden House for the multitude to view the show, he himself joining them, dressed in costume. The enormities practiced were so great, Tacitus says, that "because these cruelties seemed not to be for the public good, but to gratify the ferocity of one man, a feeling of compassion rose towards the sufferers."

Afterwards St. Paul was taken and thrown into the Mamertine Prison, where there is also a print on the wall reputed to have been made by the head of St. Peter. There is a little Church of Quo Vadis outside

the city where St. Peter is said to have seen his Lord in a vision, and a legend of the Church makes the great Basilica of St. Peter's the spot where that disciple was crucified with his head downwards, because he did not feel worthy to die in the same manner as his Lord, whom he once denied; but in spite of these reputed landmarks most commentators claim that St. Peter never visited Rome.

In a grove of eucalypti, about three miles outside the gates of Rome, there are three churches and an old monastery, built in memory of St. Paul. Around their cloisters solemn monks walk silently, and offer to the visitor eucalyptus wine as a preventive against the malaria which still exists in that locality. One of these churches is built over three springs, which, the legend says, burst forth in three different spots, where the head of St. Paul touched, when rebounding under the sword of the Roman executioner.

Tired of the monotony of life in Rome, and being too much of a coward to engage in wars, Nero made a journey to Greece and took part in the Olympian and Isthmian Games, bringing home with him the best of the remaining Greek statues and reliefs to decorate his Golden House. Although he had never in his life shown any military prowess, he demanded and was accorded a triumph, in which he rode in the old chariot of Augustus, bearing eighteen hundred crowns, taken as prizes in the games, and displayed as trophies of his expedition.

But the Prætorian Guards finally rose against him, and an officer, named Galba, came home from Spain with his army for the purpose of putting him down. Nero was seated at a banquet when he heard the noise in the street; and he sprang up, crying: "I am ruined."

At first he called for poison; but he had not the courage to drink it; he then rushed to the Tiber; but its "dark, rolling waters" stopped him; and, urged by his companions, he sought the villa of the freedman, Phaon, outside the Nomentine Gate. The Senate had in the meantime doomed him to death, *Moræ Majorum*, that is "according to ancient custom," and when the trembling Nero inquired: "What is it to die *Moræ Majorum*," they told him that, deprived of all his garments, he was to have his head fastened between a forked stick and be scourged to death. On hearing this he seized a dagger, and, pointing it to his heart, said: "An Emperor must not be a coward"; but after hesitating a moment, hearing the sound of approaching soldiers, he held it to his throat and made a freedman pierce him through. Then, looking up at the squad of soldiers before him, he said with a malignant scowl: "You are too late." But it was his own leading general who had approached to rescue him.

Nero had ruled thirteen years, and was thirty-two when he died in 68 A.D. The succession ended with him, since he was the last of the line of Augustus. Notwithstanding his pusillanimity, there were many military events in his reign which brought glory to the Roman arms. There were wars with the Parthians; and Boadicea, Queen of the Iceni, with a force of two hundred and thirty thousand strong, was subdued in Britain by ten thousand Roman soldiers under Suetonius Paulinus. The oblong bucklers of the legions were so protected against the enemy's arrows that only four hundred Romans fell, while eighty thousand of the Iceni were butchered.

Servius Galba, although already seventy-two years old, was next elected Emperor, and accepted by the

Senate. It was Servius Galba, whom as a child Augustus had taken upon his knee, with the words: "You too shall have a taste of Empire." Tiberius also had predicted that Galba would some time be Emperor. But the Prætorian Guards, now composed of Germans, were hostile to Roman rule, and were also offended because Galba had not given them the rewards promised in his name. Accordingly a conspiracy was soon formed under Otho, a leading general and former husband of Nero's wife, Poppæa, and, after a rule of seven months, in January, 69 A.D., a band of assassins surprised Galba in his tent and cut off his head.

Otho had only reigned ninety-five days in Galba's place when Vitellius, then serving as the head of the Roman army on the Danube, and a favorite of all the preceding Emperors, hearing of the death of Nero and the murder of Galba, set himself up as Emperor and was proclaimed as such by the co-operation of his soldiers. He and Otho met in battle, and after a week's fighting the latter, being defeated, killed himself, in April, 69 A.D., while Vitellius, betaking himself to Rome, was confirmed as Emperor by the Senate, and commenced a life of luxury in the Palace of the Cæsars.

Meanwhile Vespasian, the ablest of Nero's officers in the East, learning that Vitellius was disgracing himself and the nation by corrupt and voluptuous living, thought he saw a chance to get possession of the Empire, and so sent a large force to Rome to dethrone and slay Vitellius. The latter was brutally assassinated less than a year after his accession and Vespasian, having been proclaimed Emperor before he started from Egypt, set out for Italy, leaving his

son Titus to subdue Jerusalem. There was a battle, in which Vespasian triumphed and Rome capitulated, the Capitol being destroyed, after great devastation and loss of life; but after eighteen months of anarchy Vespasian commenced his reign in 70 A.D.

Vespasian was of low origin, but had risen in the army during the conquests in Britain, and afterwards was made proconsul in Africa. He was with Nero in Greece, and once mortally offended him by falling asleep while that Emperor sang. His simple style of living worked a great change in the condition of the Empire, being in strong contrast to the luxury and vice of his predecessors. Vespasian maintained a firm discipline over the army, removed many corrupt Senators and knights, and restored order to the finance, thus repairing much of the destruction brought about by the recent civil commotion. He was the first of the Five Good Emperors, and the first of all the Emperors to die a natural death. He rebuilt the Capitol, erected a temple to Peace, and began the building of the Flavian Amphitheater, or Colosseum, the stupendous ruins of which still call to mind the gay scenes when a hundred thousand spectators gazed admiringly upon the bloody spectacles, and Rome's most cultivated women waved their scarfs and handkerchiefs in applause. Vespasian also erected the Baths of Titus on a part of the grounds on which Nero's Golden House had stood. Besides the conquest of Judea by Titus, a war was carried on in Britain and several rebellions were put down, in Vespasian's reign. In 71 the Temple of Janus was closed, and in 74 the last census of Roman citizens ever made was taken. In 79, seeing his health failing, Vespasian retired to his early home in the Sabine

country near Reate, and when he felt the approach of death he caused himself to be placed upon his feet, saying that "it was the duty of an Emperor to die standing."

Titus succeeded Vespasian that same year. He had been educated in the Imperial House with Britannicus, the son of Claudius; and though he had been dissipated in his youth, when he felt the responsibility of the government on his shoulders he became so good a man that he was called the "delight of the world." "*Perdidi diem*," (I have lost a day) was his memorable saying if twenty-four hours passed without some marked act of benevolence.

When Vespasian went to Rome as Emperor in 70 A.D., he left Titus to end the Jewish War by the siege of Jerusalem. His sack of the Holy City is one of the most notable events recorded in history. The Jews held out six months, until famine was followed by scenes of cruelty and desperation, and at last by the massacre and dispersion of the inhabitants, so that, when the city finally surrendered, every dwelling was a dead-house. Titus would have been glad to preserve the Holy Temple, notwithstanding the Jews had gathered there, believing that the promised Messiah would deliver and save them, but a riotous soldier flung a torch into the midst and the flames enveloped and destroyed all the wealth of the holy place. A million of Jews perished, besides a hundred thousand who were either sold into slavery or sent to fight in the amphitheater. It was at this time that the seven-branched candlesticks, the silver trumpets and the shew-bread table, now represented in the sculptured masonry of the Arch of Titus, were carried as spoils to Rome, along with the retinue of captives, who

walked in his triumph. At the time of this devastation the Christians in Jerusalem had fled to Pella among the hills and were saved.

It was during Titus' reign, in 79 A.D., that the destruction of the cities of Herculaneum and Pompeii happened, owing to the violent eruption of Mount Vesuvius. The excavations of these ruins, however, did not commence for sixteen hundred years, and when in the seventeenth century portions were first disinterred, the customs and social habits of the day were revealed, a number of the dead being found in the exact position in which they perished. The elder Pliny, while exploring the ruins in the cause of science, lost his life. In 80 A.D. a great fire broke out in Rome, lasting three days, and consuming a large number of houses and many public edifices. After this there was a plague, during which thousands died daily.

Titus, feeling that his health was declining, like his father, retired to the Sabine country, and expired in the same villa in which his father had died. This was in 81 A.D., and he had reigned only two years. His brother Domitian had several times attempted to take Titus' life, and each time the latter had pardoned him; but it is thought that at last Domitian was the means of Titus' death.

Domitian was eminently another bad Emperor. On account of exhibitions of a corrupt character displayed in the interim of government which he carried on before his father took his seat, he was debarred from all share in public affairs by both Vespasian and Titus, and spent his time on an estate near Rome in dissipation and vice. After he had been proclaimed Emperor by the Prætorian Guards, he showed for a time some firmness in the management of the govern-

ment; but soon the frivolous weakness and wickedness of his character asserted itself. He caused himself, while living, to be worshiped as a god, and otherwise indulged in all the debasing vices of Nero and Caligula. He hated all literary and scientific men, drove the philosophers into exile, and persecuted Jews and Christians alike; and there was no cowardly crime that he did not reward with honorable dignities. Somebody said that had Jupiter set up Olympus at auction, it would not have paid two shillings on the pound toward the vast debt which Domitian incurred—the gilding on the Capitol, which he rebuilt, costing twelve millions of dollars. Agricola, who was then working in the British Isles, by his efficiency excited Domitian's jealousy, so that he recalled the latter and it is thought was the cause of his subsequent death. Agricola had defeated the forces of the Caledonians at the foot of the Grampian Hills and sustained military posts for forty miles along the territory beyond Glasgow and Edinburgh, between the Friths of Scotland.

Domitian's way of amusing himself took the form of practical jokes. At one time he awoke his whole council at midnight, to discuss, as they supposed, some impending crisis in the State; but when all were assembled he produced a monstrous turbot and consulted them as to the best way of cutting it up. At another time, having invited his friends to a feast, he conducted them into a banquet-hall, which he had arranged with funeral couches and decorated with black marble, and instead of a dinner-card, each found his name on a memorial tablet. His halls were lined with dark, polished marble in order that he might detect any enemy approaching from behind. His death, in 96, however, came about through his habit of writing

down on a tablet the names of those whom he intended to destroy. One night his wicked wife, Domitia, while searching his pockets, found to her great consternation her own name on the fatal list, and informed the other victims, one of whom entered his apartment and slew him. He was the last of the "Twelve Cæsars," though those coming after him were still called Cæsar.

Nerva, the feeble old man who was declared Emperor, to succeed Domitian, by the people and cohorts, had been consul both with Vespasian and in 90 A.D. with Domitian. He governed wisely, only too mildly, and discountenanced many of the obnoxious measures of Domitian, permitting exiles to return, and discontinuing the system of spies. He also distributed lands among the poor Plebeians, and gave money and corn to the people; but he had not the strength of character to quell the seditions amongst the various factions. Although he recalled all the Christians who had been driven from Rome by the persecution of Nero, he believed in the old gods, and allowed St. Ignatius, Bishop of Antioch and friend of Polycarp, to be put to death. Finding the Prætorian Guard too strong for him, he took Trajan for a colleague, but soon afterwards died a natural death, in 98 A.D., after having reigned a little over a year.

Trajan was born a Spaniard. After going through the usual routine of civic and military office, first as Military tribune, then as prætor, and in 91 as consul, he began his reign with Nerva in 97 A.D. He was in Germany when Nerva died, quelling disturbances along the Rhine and the Danube, and when, in 99 A.D., he came home he was received with acclamations by the people. He was no doubt the most

powerful of the Roman Emperors, and in his reign the Empire reached the climax of its greatness. The peaceful system of his predecessors was now succeeded by scenes of war and conquest. Gibbon says: "As long as men continue to bestow more applause upon their destroyers than upon their benefactors, the thirst for military glory will continue to be the vice of the most exalted characters."

Notwithstanding this new warlike régime, Trajan followed out the pacificatory methods of Nerva in the State, making provisions for the poor, introducing grain free of duty, curbing the insolence of the Prætorians, and appointing men of high character to public office. In 101 he left Rome for the purpose of carrying on a war with the Dacians, who had purchased a peace in Domitian's time. Alexander was Trajan's ideal of a monarch in general, and in his military system he was much influenced by that great warrior. After repeated struggles with the Dacians at the end of five years he slew Decebalus, the king of that nation; and Dacia was compelled to acknowledge Roman sway. Thus a province thirteen hundred miles in circumference was annexed to the Roman Empire.

In the conquest of Dacia Trajan was obliged to build an immense bridge across the Danube, over which the Roman army passed into that country. It consisted of twenty-two arches, and was one hundred and fifty feet high, the largest structure of the kind ever constructed by the ancients. Vestiges of this bridge and Trajan's military roads are still discernible. Among his other conquests Trajan subdued the Armenians, and in his last expedition against the Parthians he sailed down the Tigris to the Per-

sian Gulf, being the last and only Roman general who ever navigated the Persian Sea. Bulletins were sent forth every day from his camp, declaring the names of the new nations that acknowledged his sway, the kings of Bosphorus, Iberia, Albania and even the Parthian monarch being on the list; and Mesopotamia and Syria, as well as Armenia, were reduced to provinces. The magnificent column now seen in Trajan's Forum at Rome was raised on his return, to commemorate his victories. On the spiral belt surrounding it the principal events of his Dacian expedition are sculptured. Napoleon copied this most renowned work of art when he erected a monument in honor of his own victories in the Place Vendôme in Paris.

Although Trajan was not anxious to hunt down the Christians, he gave instructions to convict them when brought to justice, unless they renounced Christianity, but not to listen to any unfounded rumors against them. Christ's followers at this time lived for the most part in the catacombs, which were quarries hollowed out by convicts in the calcareous foundations of Rome. Skeletons of the dead are even now seen on shelves at the sides, while the galleries, where the Christians in those days were sometimes surprised and walled up, were their chapels. In these weird places old inscriptions carved in the solid masonry by these persecuted Christians are now decipherable by the light of torches.

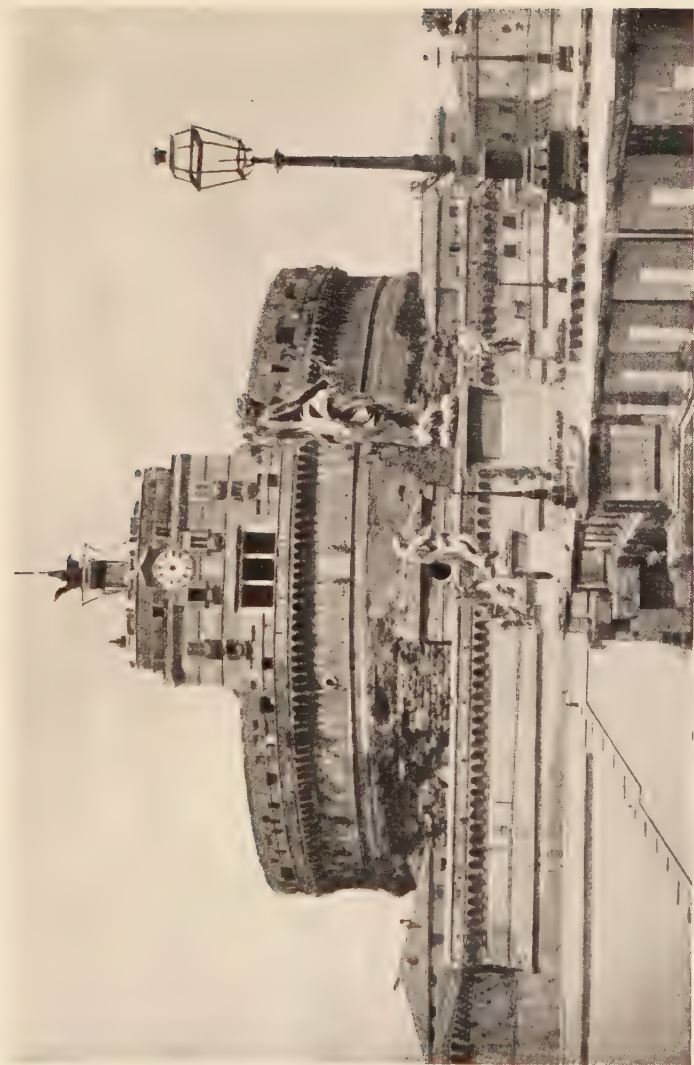
As Trajan was returning for a temporary respite from his conquests in the East, he died at Cilicia in 117 A.D., after a reign of nineteen years. He had governed with great moderation and discretion, and was an enemy of all luxury and ostentation. Trajan was recognized as so great a monarch that two hun-

dred and fifty years later the desire expressed for the future welfare of a deserving ruler was that "he might surpass the felicity of Augustus, and the virtue of Trajan."

Hadrian was a nephew of Trajan by the latter's marriage with his aunt. He was a distinguished courier, and at Nerva's death traversed the whole of Germany in order to convey the news of Trajan's succession and to congratulate him on the event. He was Trajan's private secretary in the Dacian expeditions, had married his grandniece, Julia Sabina, and was finally adopted by him as his heir. Hadrian was with his armies in the East, however, when Trajan died, and was proclaimed Emperor in Antioch.

Although at first Hadrian conducted military affairs with great vigor, his policy, compared with his predecessor, was pacific; for afterwards he resigned all the conquests which Trajan had gained as far as the Euphrates, making that river the frontier of the Empire as it had been in Augustus' time. He concluded a treaty with the Parthians, withdrew the Roman garrison from the provinces of Armenia, Mesopotamia and Assyria, and tore down the stupendous bridge over the Danube, for fear it would facilitate the incursions of the barbarians. Notwithstanding these retrograde movements, he accomplished much which was worth while, erecting a wall in Britain, which still exists, against the incursions of the Picts and Scots, and instigating the recolonization of Carthage. He finished the rebuilding of Jerusalem, which Trajan had begun, expelling the Jews, and planting a Roman colony in their place.

The Villa of Hadrian, which he constructed like those he had seen in the East, with grounds laid out



CASCADE OF ST. ANGELO.

in Oriental style, is still one of the greatest attractions in the environs of Rome on the way to Tivoli. He was fond of literary society, and surrounded himself with authors, artists and lettered men. He himself was an accomplished scholar, and had great personal attraction and fine manners. His memory was so remarkable that he knew every one of his soldiers by name, and it is said that after reading a book he could repeat it from beginning to end. He was also a great traveler, and spent thirteen years visiting the provinces of his Empire, the time passed in Egypt among the antiquities being especially noteworthy. Before his death Hadrian erected a great monument for his tomb, called the "Molæ Hadrianus," now known as the Castle of St. Angelo.

There were no persecutions of the Christians under Hadrian, and he even took great interest in their philosophy, proposing to give Christ a niche in the temple with other gods. Notwithstanding his humanity and moderation, however, he was guilty of many deeds of cruelty under the influence of an ungovernable temper, which amounted almost to delirium. After Hadrian had reigned nearly twenty-one years he adopted as his successor the Senator, Titus Antoninus, on condition that Marcus Aurelius, a charming youth of seventeen, who had won his affection at court, should be the latter's successor. Hadrian died that same year, 138 A.D.

Titus Aurelius Fulvius, called Antoninus Pius, was adopted by Hadrian wholly on account of his fitness for the difficult position. He was fifty-two years old when he began to reign, and was called Pius on account of his fervor in behalf of the welfare of the people. True to his promise, he immediately bound

Marcus Aurelius to his family circle by a marriage with his daughter, Faustina, and proceeded to admit him into the details of the government, so that his reign was often spoken of as a joint rule.

Since the periods of war, pestilence, sedition and anarchy are the epochs which make their mark in history, the reign of Antoninus Pius was so prosperous, placid and happy that it passed away almost unnoticed. During a reign of twenty-three years, unlike Hadrian in his restless wanderings, the longest journey he took was from his palace in Rome to his Lanuvian villa.

Like Hadrian, he desired to maintain the dignity of the Empire without attempting to enlarge its borders, and he succeeded so well in conciliating the barbarians that they often submitted their internal differences to him, frequently soliciting citizenship in the Empire. He was efficient as a builder, and among other great works he constructed a wall further north than the one of Hadrian, a turf rampart on a foundation of stone, called "The Wall of the Antonines."

Antoninus died at the age of seventy-five, in his villa at Loricum, and on account of scrupulous observance of religious rites he has been handed down as a second Numa. Although a pagan, he tolerated and protected the Christians and issued an edict that whoever accused that sect on account of their religion should be punished to the extent of the law, while the Christians arraigned should be discharged. He was in the habit of quoting the words of the great Scipio: "I would rather preserve the life of a citizen than to destroy a thousand enemies." At his death in 161 A.D. there was universal lamentation, the greatest eulogy ever given a ruler being pronounced over his

remains, and for more than a century after the Roman Emperors were delighted to call themselves Antonines.

Hadrian had selected Lucius Verus, the son of a near relative, as a colleague for Marcus Aurelius whenever the latter should succeed Antoninus Pius. Verus' father had been the legitimate heir to the throne, and it was after his death that Hadrian chose Antoninus Pius, on account of his worth and fitness for the place. Before Antoninus Pius died, seeing the unworthiness and demoralization of Verus' character, he had disinherited him and left Marcus Aurelius as sole Emperor, having previously associated him in the government. Marcus Aurelius, however, on his accession thought it his duty to give Verus an equal share of the administration. He hoped that Verus might prove a complement to himself, since he, Marcus Aurelius, was averse to action; and literary pursuits were his delight. He was also physically weak, and a foe to war on principle. It was his fate, however, to be ever engaged in conflict and always involved in the vortex of war. Accordingly, he set about with a firm resolve and a clear insight to duty to overcome his physical defects, his moral aversion to strife, and his inclination to a solely literary life; and in the end he proved himself a brave soldier, a shrewd diplomat, a wise statesman and a practical man of affairs.

Soon after his accession to the throne war broke out with the Parthians, and, following this, dangerous hostilities from the shores of the Danube to Illyricum, where the barbarous tribes of the Marcomanni, the Quadri, the Alani and other fierce nations all took arms together, forcing both Marcus Aurelius and Verus to the frontier. In 169, after all these

wars were successfully ended, Verus, who had impaired his constitution by profligacy and vice, died of apoplexy on his way home from the East. Although a perfectly worthless character, he had deferred to Marcus Aurelius' judgment in everything, and their reign together had been peaceful.

For the next five years Marcus Aurelius carried on war in Panonia without ever returning to Rome, enduring the greatest hardships with his soldiers and the vicissitudes of climate. His most remarkable victory was over the Quadri, in which one legion of his army was composed entirely of Christians. Just before the battle, when his soldiers were perishing from thirst, a terrible thunder-storm arose, accompanied by rain, from which the Roman soldiers were able to fill their helmets with water; while at the same time a violent hailstorm visited the camp of the enemy, throwing them into utter confusion, so that they were cut to pieces and easily routed. The Christians had seemed to bring about this happy juncture by their prayers just before the tempest; and some say that Marcus Aurelius, impressed by the apparent miracle, issued a decree prohibiting further persecutions; while other authorities declare that he attributed his delivery to the interposition of Jupiter Tonans. In any case, he named the division "The Thundering Legion"; but it is generally admitted that he continued his persecution of the Christians to the end, and that the reason he did this was that he considered them a fanatical sect whose methods were calculated to subvert the laws and institutions of the State.

After eight years of absence from Rome, while endeavoring to drive back the Tartars, who were

invading the Empire, and in the midst of a career of uninterrupted triumph, Marcus Aurelius was seized with the plague at Vienna, and died at the age of fifty-nine, in the year 180 A.D., having reigned nineteen years. His death was attributed by some to the connivance of his miserable son, Commodus, whom, after the death of Verus, he had associated with him in the government. The Wars of the Marcomanni were his greatest military achievement, the deeds of which are recorded on a monument erected to him in the Piazza Colonna in Rome. The figure of Jupiter on the summit is sending rain on the thirsty hosts, who are catching it in their shields; and in the Capitoline Museum his deeds are recorded, while his equestrian statue rises in the square in front of the Capitol. His reign ended the period of the Five Good Emperors, which was called the Age of the Antonines.

Gibbon says this "Golden Age of Trajan and the Antonines," following on the "Age of Iron," was the only epoch in which the happiness of a great people was the sole object of government. That historian also says: "If one were to fix the period in the history of the world during which the condition of the human race was most happy and prosperous, he would name that which elapsed between the death of Domitian and the accession of Commodus."

Marcus Aurelius has been handed down as the type of a perfect ruler; some author says: "The noblest of pagans, the crown and flower of Stoicism." He was a deep student, and, although a Stoic philosopher, he so longed for truth and virtue that many of his writings, notably his "Meditations," seem the embodiment of religious aspiration. He was so imbued with these thoughts that he is said to have writ-

ten some of them in most critical moments—on the eve of battle, in the moment of victory, or when the enemy were fleeing. But he was far from believing in modern Christianity, and allowed such men as the aged Polycarp to be sentenced and burned to death. In the case of the latter, the flames having miraculously refused to touch him in the theater in Smyrna, he was slain by the sword. The mild character and philosophy of Marcus Aurelius, although they made him most severe with respect to his own shortcomings, imbued him with leniency towards the faults of others. Thus during the thirty years of his married life he treated his wicked wife, who was even suspected at one time of plotting his murder, with the greatest tenderness. In his famous “Meditations” he expresses thanks to the gods for conferring upon him a “wife so faithful, gentle, and of such wonderful simplicity of character.” Although the Romans smiled at his earnest request to have her placed in a niche with the gods, they granted his desire, and a temple to her worship, which was then erected, still remains as one of the distinguished and classic relics seen to-day in the ruins of the Forum.

CHAPTER XXXII

COMMODUS, PERTINAX, DIDIUS JULIANUS, SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS, CARACALLA, GETA, MACRINUS, ELAGABALUS, ALEXANDER SEVERUS, MAXIMINIUS, GORDIAN I. AND II., MAXIMUS AND BALBINUS, GORDIAN III., PHILIP THE ARABIAN, DECIUS, HOSTILIANUS AND GALLUS, ERMILIANUS, VALERIAN AND GALLIENUS, CLAUDIUS II., AURELIAN; ZENOBIA, QUEEN OF PALMYRA.

180 A.D.—275 A.D.

THE steady decline of the Empire dates from the reign of Commodus. He inherited none of the virtues of his father and all the vices of his mother, whose example and lax discipline fostered the inborn evil of his character, so that his advent to the throne was the signal for barbarities more fiendish than those of the worst of his most brutal predecessors. At last even his own favorites, learning that they were to be the objects of his execution, removed him by poison in 192; and the Senate commanded that his statues should be broken up and his name blotted from the public inscriptions.

After it had been announced to the Prætorian Guards that Commodus had died of apoplexy, the good Pertinax was chosen Emperor and elected by the Senate. He was the son of a charcoal-burner, later a teacher, and, after a civil and military routine, he had risen to the consulate. Pertinax is ranked with the Antonines; he immediately curtailed all extravagance and luxury, regulated the laws, showed much

firmness in every department of the State, and was greatly respected by the Roman people; but he drew such a tight rein in his discipline of the army that after he had ruled only eighty-six days, in March, 193 A.D., three hundred of the Prætorian Guard marched to his palace in open day, with swords and javelins, and severed his head, afterwards exhibiting it upon a lance held up high in front of the palaces. Although the populace, consisting of four million people inside the city, had all favored Pertinax, they did not dare utter a word of protest, for they were overawed by sixteen thousand soldiers of the Prætorians, who had a permanent camp outside of Rome.

Sulpicius, the father-in-law of Pertinax, and prefect of the city, offered the soldiers eight hundred dollars a head if they would choose him. Thus, being reminded that they could sell the sovereignty of the world like any other commodity, one of their number rushed out upon the ramparts and proclaimed the sale of the Empire to the highest bidder. Didius Julianus, a rich and vainglorious old Senator, and commander of the city guard, was supping with his family when he heard that the Prætorian Guard had put up the Empire at auction. Leaving the table, he rushed to the heights and offered the value of one thousand dollars a head to each of the cohorts; whereupon the Roman Empire was struck off to him. The soldiers then summoned the Assembly of the Senate and he was confirmed and conducted to the Palace of the Cæsars with a great ovation.

But there were three other factions in the nation who had no intention of letting so important a matter be settled by the Prætorians. Septimius Severus, a born African, but a very able general, heard the news

when fighting in Illyricum, and, breaking up camp, headed for Rome with three Roman legions, as the avenger of Pertinax. In Britain Clodius Albinus, a man of the highest Patrician rank, who held in contempt the low birth of Didius Julianus, also aspired to the purple, while Pescennius Niger held an army even more powerful than either.

There were now in 193 A.D. four Roman sovereigns, since each of the armies had declared its leader Emperor. Septimius Severus, wishing to forestall the others, allowed himself scarcely time for food, and crossed the Alps, where city after city received him. Julianus had only his Prætorian bands against sixty thousand Roman troops, and was held in such ill repute in the city that he was greeted with the exclamation: "Robber and parricide!" whenever he appeared in the street. When he heard that Severus was within two hundred and fifty miles of Rome, terror-stricken, he invoked the gods and all other factions good or evil, and after trying to hire men to assassinate Severus on the way, sent envoys to effect a compromise with him. The agents of Severus, however, were already in the Capitol, buying the Guard with a larger sum than even Julianus had offered. The Prætorians therefore reassembled the Senate; but, without any fuss, not waiting for the edict to depose Julianus, they took him into one of the private apartments and cut off his head, which they sent to Septimius Severus as a pledge of their allegiance. Thus ended, in 193, the sixty days' rule of Didius Julianus; and Septimius Severus ascended the throne without anarchy or general bloodshed.

Before Severus entered the city he disorganized the old Prætorian Guard, on the ground of their

having murdered Pertinax, and made Prætorians of his own cohorts. When he saw two hostile armies approaching, he hastened to make an alliance with Albinus, and conquered Niger in three battles, sending men to overtake him in his flight and slay him.

He then wrote an affectionate letter to Albinus, urging him, since the gods had given them victory, to be true to their contract. He even added the kind salutations of his wife Julia, and the children. Albinus discovered, however, that Severus had perfidiously instructed the messenger who conveyed the epistle to watch his chance and stab him with a dagger, and accordingly he prepared for a long struggle.

This contention between the two rulers had lasted for four years when Albinus, in 197, met Severus in Gaul near Lyons, and there ensued the fiercest battle which had been fought since Philippi. Although at one time Severus' cause seemed hopeless, he rallied his men in person, so that Albinus' army was finally cut to pieces, and the latter panic-stricken, committed suicide. Severus trampled upon his dead body and slew his wife, appropriating the spoils.

After fighting with the Parthians for several years, Severus returned to Rome in triumph, and later the splendid "Arch of Septimius Severus," which is one of the finest monuments in the Forum, was erected to commemorate his victory. Septimius punished by banishment and death any who had sympathized with the unsuccessful aspirants.

After six years Severus appointed his sons, Caracalla and Geta as his joint successors in the Empire, and for the next twenty-five years African negroes ruled in Rome. The time, from 208 to 211, of unsuccessful warfare in Britain Severus used as an oppor-

tunity to drill his soldiers, and he also hoped to wean his sons from their evil habits by hard military service. Though he compelled the Caledonians to surrender, and built the famous wall from the Solway Frith to the German Ocean, which still bears the name of the "Wall of Severus," fifty thousand of his men perished within a few months through sickness and the fatigue endured in forcing their way through forests and marshes. Moreover, the Caledonians continued to rebel, and it was in making a second attack that Severus died at York in 211 A.D., at the age of sixty-six, after an able reign of eighteen years.

Septimius Severus was eminent as an organizer of military operations, although he rarely led in battle. He left the army stronger than he found it, and boasted that "having received the Empire oppressed with foreign and domestic wars, he left it established in profound, universal and honorable peace." Severus has been classed with the greatest of the Cæsars; but he was also the most parvenu of all the Emperors. It was said of Severus in the reorganization of the Empire, that he left nothing human or divine unexplored. In his reign the Senate became powerless, since his aim was to keep the "initiative in his own hands"; and at the end of his sovereignty his only desire was to perpetuate the greatness of his family. They, however, proved recreant to the affection bestowed upon them, Caracalla the elder having several times tried to murder him. The quarrels of his sons, the cares of the State and the heathen doctrines of religion, which gave him no hope of a future life, overshadowed his last days with gloom. He himself said that he had been all things, and all was of little value.

After the loss of his first wife, Septimius married Julia Donna in the East; she united all the characteristics which Severus' studies of astrology had led him to expect in the one he was to wed, and she possessed great strength of character and good judgment, retaining the attractions of beauty up to the end of her life. Much of her time was spent in study and philosophy; and she is said to have been the friend of every man of genius. During Caracalla's life she continued to hold a place of honor in the Empire, and by her prudence supported his tottering sway.

From infancy the sons of Septimius Severus had a "fixed and implacable antipathy for each other." During their journey through Gaul and Italy to Rome, immediately after the death of their father, they quarreled incessantly, never eating at the same table nor sleeping in the same room. Finally they decided to divide the Empire between them, Rome being the residence of Caracalla, and Antioch and Alexandria being the capitals of Asia and Egypt, Geta's realm. The people of Rome were indignant at having the Empire dismembered on account of differences between two worthless fellows, and Caracalla, afraid that he would be the one to be dethroned, proposed a friendly meeting with his brother in their mother's apartment. Here two concealed assassins rushed out, and, with the assistance of Caracalla, stabbed Geta, who died in his mother's arms.

Caracalla's real name was Bassianus Antoninus, the *caracalla* being a kind of tunic introduced by him. In cruelty and wicked deeds he ranks with Nero, Caligula and Commodus. On his accession he set on foot a system of proscription to the number of twenty thousand, including all who had ever had the least

friendly communication with Geta, except his mother. Perpinian, the minister of Septimius Severus, died gloriously rather than be made to justify Caracalla's crimes. Septimius Severus had inculcated into Caracalla's mind his own policy, which was to gain the affection of his soldiers at any price, and to regard the rest of his subjects as mere ciphers. In doing this, however, Caracalla sacrificed all the dignity of his rank, associating with his soldiers on equal terms, until finally one of his chief generals, Macrinus, watched his opportunity and had him assassinated in broad daylight, while he was on a pilgrimage to the Temple of the Moon, from Edessa. His death occurred in 217, after six years of bloodshed. Gibbon says: "Such was the end of a monster whose life was a disgrace to human nature, and whose reign abused the patience of the Romans."

The army and Senate rewarded Macrinus with the succession; but he lost the respect of the soldiers on account of his mean birth and boorish manners, as well as through his lack of diplomacy and tact; and they soon named as Emperor a grandnephew of Julia Donna, a lad of nineteen, who lived in Antioch and was the first ruler of Asiatic extraction in Rome.

This man was known as Elagabalus, because he officiated as priest at the Temple of the Sun at Emesa, that planet being worshiped as a black conical stone. A picture represents him in sacerdotal robes of silk and gold, in the loose, flowing Medean fashion, his head covered with a lofty tiara, his eyebrows blackened and his cheeks painted red. He was accustomed to be drawn behind six milk-white horses through the streets of Rome, strewn with gold-dust, the conical stone being affixed to his chariot; and afterwards

sacrifices were offered to him in the temple on the Palatine. His life was an example of all the crimes in the category of vice. The most extraordinary victims were consumed upon his altars, the highest persons of the State officiating in the meanest functions. On the ground that he needed to devote all his time to the occupations of a god, his aunt, Julia Donna, urged him to take his cousin Alexander, called Severus, as colleague, seeing that otherwise he would entirely lose his influence. He declined to heed this advice, and, his atrocities increasing daily, he was finally slain in 222 A.D. by his minions.

The Prætorian Guard elected Alexander, whom they adored, in his place. Alexander Severus was a mild and virtuous prince, his nature being proof against the allurements of vice. Since he was only seventeen years old, his mother, a wise and diplomatic woman, acted as regent, and all his life he deferred largely to her. The Palace of the Cæsars soon became like a temple of the gods. A journal of his ordinary occupations exhibits a pleasing picture of Alexander's virtues and accomplishments. He rose early and spent the first hours of the day in private devotion, his chapel being full of the portraits of reformers and philanthropists. His mornings were employed in discussing public affairs with his Cabinet and settling private grievances. After a silent mid-day repast he engaged with energy in the business of the day, and worked with his secretaries, answering letters, memorials and petitions. His meals were served with the most frugal simplicity, and he was never attended except by a few select friends, amongst whom was Ulpian, the distinguished writer and jurist. Instead of having dancers, comedians and gladiators to amuse

them, they were entertained by literary compositions and papers, a portion of each day being devoted to such works as Virgil, Horace, Plato and Cicero. With a programme such as this there was little time left for vice or folly.

Alexander dressed plainly, and in his manners he was courteous and affable. His palace was open to all his subjects, but his crier announced that no one could enter in, unless he had a pure and innocent mind. Although he labored to restore the glory and blessedness of the Age of the Antonines, Alexander disdained the honor of adding their name to his.

In the reforms of the civil administration Alexander received the hearty co-operation of the people; but the moment he infringed upon what the Prætorian Guard considered their prerogative they broke out into a mutiny, and, the whole body rising in insurrection, burned houses and massacred the Emperor's friends and supporters, the prefect Ulpian being among the number. During his reign Alexander had also to struggle with a revolution in the East, an insurrection among the Parthians and a rebellion in Germany, in dealing with all of which he exhibited great firmness and heroism. But after ruling thirteen years he was finally murdered in 235 in an outbreak on the Rhine, led by a Goth called Maximin, whom he had raised to a high position in the army, and who made the excuse for his crime that a soldier ought to be governed by a soldier educated in camp and exercised in war. During Alexander's reign the Christians had increased rapidly; for, though not actually a Christian himself, he encouraged the doctrine because his mother was a member of that sect.

Maximin, who was now made Emperor, was de-

scended from barbarian stock in Thrace, the son of a Goth and of a savage woman of the Alani. Septimius Severus found him in the East and placed him in an important post in his own retinue, whence he arose to the first military command. Maximin was eight feet tall, and in a foot-race could outrun all competitors and could overthrow the most skillful wrestlers. His strength was so great that with a blow of his fist he could strike out the teeth of a horse and break his thigh with one kick. His valor was equal to his strength, but he was afraid of losing his throne on account of his low origin. Therefore he tried to destroy without witness or trial, all, whether friend or foe, who had any knowledge of his obscure birth. Scenes of violence succeeded one another, and his cruelty was so relentless that ordinary death seemed kind. He sewed up in the hides of slaughtered animals four thousand of his subjects suspected of plotting against him, leaving them to perish by suffocation; and besides these many were torn to pieces in the amphitheater. In his greed for wealth he robbed the temples of their exquisite statues of gold and silver, and remorselessly melted them down. He confiscated the revenue set apart to buy corn for the people, and spent all his time in the provinces, until finally throughout the Roman world everybody demanded redress, and in an insurrection which arose in Africa the Roman proconsul Gordian was compelled to accept the crown.

The Gordian family stood at the head of the Roman aristocracy, and were possessed of great wealth and unbounded influence. They were descended from the Scipios and the Gracchi on one side and from the Emperor Trajan on the other, and

were of the same stock as Antoninus Pius. The Senate, already disgusted with Maximin, in 236 A.D. sanctioned the choice of Gordian, so that the old man of eighty years, with his son, established his court at Carthage, where the face of no Roman Emperor had been seen since that of Hadrian. But their reign was short, for young Gordian, routed by an army sent against them by Maximin, fell, and the aged father, in despair, took his own life. Now Maximin for the first time turned towards Rome.

The Senators assembled and agreed to elect two Emperors: Maximus, a rough, courageous soldier, to conduct the war, and Balbinus, a distinguished orator and wealthy magistrate, to remain at Rome. Maximin in rage crossed the Alps with a great army and the affrighted inhabitants fled in all directions, while everything which could afford his troops subsistence was taken away or destroyed. Defeated in the siege of Aquileia, he advanced to Ravenna, where in 238 A.D. some of his own soldiers murdered him and accepted Maximus and Balbinus as their Emperors. Maximin had ruled three years.

A civil war ensued; and, after the joyful entry into Rome of army and Emperors, the soldiers of the Prætorian Guard soon broke into the royal palace and, seizing Maximus and Balbinus, dragged them through the town and mangled them with wounds, leaving them to die in the streets.

The grandson of the elder Gordian had been declared Emperor in 238, and since, during the preceding six months of that year, five Emperors had perished, to avert civil war Gordian was accepted by the Senate.

In 244 A.D., when Gordian was nineteen years old,

the retrospect of the past six years of his life as an Emperor was simply that of a youth at school; and his government was whatever the policy of his ministers had made it. He had early come under the influence of that pestilential race, the eunuchs, who had made the offices of the State venal, oftentimes bestowing them on utterly worthless men. But finally young Gordian's naturally fine character and love of letters had brought him into touch with the rhetorician, Misitheus, whom he had introduced to his court as prime minister, and whose daughter he had married. Soon after, when the Persians threatened Antioch, the young Emperor, acting under the advice of his father-in-law, left the effeminate court at Rome, and in person conducted his army to the East. On account of the wise councils of his minister and the good discipline which Misitheus exercised over the army for him, Gordian was successful in driving the Persians back; and his continued prosperity would have been assured had he not suffered an irreparable loss in the death of his father-in-law.

The army then becoming restless and mutinous, Philip the Arabian was declared Emperor by them; and in spite of Gordian's plea, first to share the rule with Philip, as a Cæsar, then to attend him as prætor, and finally simply to have his own life spared, he was put to death in 244 A.D., because it was thought that his very ingenuousness would influence all the opposing factions in his favor. Philip tried to render Gordian tardy justice, by erecting a monument to his memory on the spot where he was executed, at the junction of the Euphrates and Aboras rivers.

Although of obscure birth, the fact that Philip aspired to be Emperor shows that he had the instincts

of a leader. He was of the sect of Christians; and when he went to celebrate the communion, before he left the East, he was denied the sacrament by the Bishops until he had expiated the murder of Gordian. On his return to Rome Philip celebrated the one-thousandth anniversary of the founding of the Eternal City by observing the Great Games, which had hitherto only been revived four times during the period of the Empire. The magnificence of the exhibition dazzled the multitude, and led them to review the achievements of the great State from the beginning. The four centuries of kings they noticed was the time in which the nation had learned the science of war and government, the three centuries of the Republic was the preparatory school for the Empire, while the last three centuries included the climax of Rome's greatness, and unhappily the beginning of its decline.

In the year 249, on hearing that his army on the Danube had revolted and chosen as Emperor the subaltern Marinus, Philip sent the brave Decius to quell the uprising. The latter was very unwilling to accept the position, since, he told Philip, the army, having already tired of Marinus, would now no doubt by force oblige him to accept the crown. It happened as Decius feared; after the most earnest remonstrances on his part the army forced him to lead them to Italy. Although he despatched a messenger to Philip, telling him the circumstances, and promising to deliver the command over to him, when Decius arrived in Italy Philip went out to repell him; and, his own army being routed, he was slain by one of his soldiers. Decius was then welcomed by acclamation by the Senate, the people and the Prætorian Guard.

Decius was an old-fashioned Roman, and believed

that it was the departure from the worship of the old gods which had brought all the trouble upon the Empire. Accordingly he set on foot the very worst persecution of the Christians, while all the chief cities, Rome, Carthage, Alexandria, Antioch, etc., were searched in order to hunt them down.

The withdrawal of the troops from the Danube resulted in the earliest successful irruption of the barbarians into the Roman Empire; and this was the time that the Goths first appear before the camera of history. They followed the whole course of the Danube, and, wending their way down from the Baltic, ravished the province of Dacia, swimming the little rivers, and trampling down all opposition. In spite of Decius, who spurred on his troops to overtake them; they rushed forward into Thrace, where, at Philippopoli, they defeated the Roman legions in 250 A.D., and entering the city massacred the whole population of a hundred thousand souls.

Decius collected his forces and again bravely met the dreaded enemy in Moesia in 257 A.D., and was well-nigh successful; but the Romans were finally beaten, and in the terrible conflict Decius was slain, and his body never recovered. The Roman battalions fled panic-stricken, and the Senate, confounded by the calamity, chose two new Emperors.

Hostilianus, the son of Decius, was elected as regular Emperor, while the renowned general, Gallus, was made military Emperor to command the armies abroad. Gallus, however, ignominiously purchased a peace with the barbarians, even paying them a tribute to depart, and permitting them to take thousands of Roman captives with them, some of them nobles and women of high degree, to serve as slaves

in their fields, and to fill up their harems. Thus Rome experienced the very bitterness which she had steeped for so many of her enemies.

Hostilianus died of a lingering disease, and Gallus, who was suspected of his murder, was put to death with his son by his soldiers in 253 A.D. ; while Æmilianus, governor of the province of Moesia, having driven back the foe, was declared Emperor.

Having discovered his inability to cope with the barbarians, Gallus had already called Valerian, a Roman Senator and a renowned general, to his aid with the army from Gaul, and after the former's death, Valerian came forward and met the soldiers of Æmilianus near Spoleto. These, intimidated at the sight of the powerful army, first murdered Æmilianus, who had reigned less than four months, and then went over to Valerian, who was then immediately elected Emperor by the universal acclamation of the whole Roman world.

Gibbon says that "if all mankind had been free to choose a universal ruler, they could not have united on a better than Valerian." He was of noble birth, possessed of cultivated manners, and was revered by the Senate. Already an old man, he took his son Gallienus as a colleague, and they ruled together seven years, which proved to be an era of wars and disaster. At the same instant the barbarian Franks swept over Gaul and Spain, even penetrating into Africa, while the Alemanni worked their way through the defiles of the Rhætian Alps, devastating the plains of Lombardy. The Goths also were transported in their flat-bottomed boats across the Euxine to Asia, and they now descended the Bosphorus and the Hellespont, and, having marched upon Epirus, began to threaten

Italy. The power of ancient Rome had departed, and the legions found themselves unequal to cope with so many and different foreign foes.

Valerian made the Goths retire for the first time with their plunder; and, marching forward, he crossed the Euphrates for the purpose of conquering the Persians. With Gallienus as a commander of the Roman troops they together met Sapor on the plains of Mesopotamia, but were obliged to yield unconditionally to the Persian monarch, who treated Valerian with great indignity. Clad in mock Imperial robes, he was made to serve as a footstool for the Persian monarch while he mounted his steed, and also to serve in the most menial offices for seven years, until finally, in 260 A.D., his eyes were cut out and he was flayed alive. They stuffed his skin and dyed it red, preserving it for ages in one of their temples in commemoration of Persia's triumph over the great and victorious Rome.

Gallienus was delighted at the opportunity to enjoy the sole rule; and he immediately attempted to purchase peace with the barbarians in order that he might live at ease and have leisure to enjoy poetry and the Fine Arts and other luxuries of an effeminate life. He only smiled when they took away province after province, saying that Rome could afford to meet such losses.

In 269 A.D., the Roman Empire had diminished one half on account of wars, pestilence, and the persecution of the Christians. The barbarians, in ravishing the frontiers, had made incursions almost in sight of the city walls; and it is said that while Gallienus lived in luxury at Rome thirty of his armies elected their generals as Emperors. The frequent rebellions

in the provinces were such that almost every person was guilty at some time or other of treason. Gallienus' reign has been called "The Age of the Thirty Tyrants." Among these pretenders there were nineteen in distant provinces at one time opposing his rule, Posthumius in Gaul being one of them; while Odenatus, a Syrian chief, with his Arabian wife, Zenobia, had obliged the Persian monarch to retreat, and, having seized the city of Palmyra, were allowed by the Romans to remain as Emperor and Empress twelve years in that classic city.

On the upper Danube the Imperial forces had revolted and had set up Aureolus as their leader. Tired of the barren mountain-regions of Rhætia, he had passed the Alps and taken Milan, threatening Rome. Gallienus, alarmed at the danger, and indignant at the insult, left his luxurious environment and went out to meet him. At first Aureolus was defeated and, doubtful of his strength, he incited a mutiny among the troops. These planned the death of Gallienus, and the latter, in trying to put down the conspiracy, was killed by a dart from an unknown hand. This was in 268 A.D.

Claudius II., a distinguished Plebeian general, was chosen as Emperor. He was the first of four, Claudius, Aurelian, Probus, and Diocletian, who, during thirty years, triumphed over foreign foes and the enemy at home. They were called the "Restorers of the Roman World." Claudius spent his reign in trying to bring new life into the fast declining Empire, first by disciplining the troops, and afterwards by fighting the ever-formidable foe. The Goths had constructed a fleet of two thousand ships on the banks of the Dneister, and had transported their army of three

hundred and twenty thousand through the Bosphorus. Claudius encountered them in a battle at Naissus, where fifty thousand barbarians fell, and under him their whole great force was reduced to a handful. But, finally, after falling a victim to the hardships of war, he died of fever after a reign of two years, in 270 A.D. Gibbon says: "The virtues of Claudius, his valor, affability, justice and temperance, and his love of his country, place him in that short list of Emperors who added luster to the Roman purple." In dying, he chose Aurelian, one of his ablest generals, as his successor.

Aurelian was the son of a peasant, born in Illyria; but he was made of the sternest stuff. From the lowest ranks, he rose to the highest position in the State; and during the five years of his reign he drove the Goths from the Empire, seized Britain from the hands of Tetricus, who had usurped the power there, and recovered Spain and Gaul; so that Valerian had styled him the "Restorer of Gaul and the Rival of the Scipios." He was always found fighting in the front ranks, in one battle killing forty-eight men with his own sword; and every month some great achievement was announced to the Senate, though at that time he was only invested with the consulship. He now wisely withdrew the Roman legions from the frontier of Dacia, abandoning it entirely to the Goths and Vandals, but restored Illyria. Turning to put down the rebellion in the East, he discovered the heroic Zenobia reigning with her son in her little kingdom; for at his death Odenatus had willed the sovereignty of Palmyra to his noble wife. Zenobia is known as one of the most famous women of the world. She was a pupil of Longinus, and was well versed in the languages,

philosophy, and ancient lore. She is described as being exceptionally charming, with black, flashing eyes, pearly teeth and a commanding presence, besides having fine intellectual qualities and great physical attractions. Her dominion extended from the Euphrates to the confines of Bithynia, and, having been undisturbed for so many years, she began to regard herself as the legitimate ruler of that portion of the East.

Being defeated in two battles, Zenobia, with almost superhuman bravery, retired to her citadel in Palmyra, resolving never to surrender alive. Aurelian wrote to the Roman Senate that he was engaged in a struggle with a woman of desperate courage, who understood every artifice of war. After an heroic conflict, knowing that she was doomed to grace Aurelian's triumph, she was hastening away on the back of her swiftest dromedary, to seek protection at the Persian court, when she was overtaken and brought a captive to Aurelian, who asked her sternly how she dared to hold out against the Emperor at Rome. With great tact she replied that she was unable to recognize such a ruler as Gallienus, and could only acknowledge the mighty Aurelian as her conqueror and sovereign.

Aurelian remained merciless, however, taking terrible vengeance upon the conquered territory and slaying the inhabitants indiscriminately. Zenobia is said to have tarnished her fair name by turning against her followers, giving up the renowned critic and philosopher, Longinus, who was beheaded by Aurelian.

On Aurelian's return the vast plunder of the armies, with the prisoners and slaves captured from Gaul, was ostentatiously paraded, while all the nations of the East followed in the train; last of all, as a crowning

glory, Tetricus, the usurper in Britain, and Zenobia. She was robed in the most splendid Oriental attire and was fettered in chains of gold. Her jewelry and precious stones almost weighed her down, and a slave had to support a part of the gold chain encircling her neck. She walked before her vast and empty chariot, drawn by Arabian horses. Aurelian rode at the head with four stags harnessed to the triumphal car. The procession was so long that it was nightfall before Aurelian returned to his palace.

The Emperor treated his distinguished captive generously, appointing her an elegant villa at Tivoli and giving her all the benefits of social life at Rome, besides joining her daughters in marriage to the generals of the army; and she soon became a typical Roman matron. He restored Tetricus to his rank and fortune and they soon became fast friends, Tetricus being in the habit of inviting Aurelian to sup with him in his splendid palace on the Cælian Hill. Afterwards he appointed Tetricus governor of Lucania.

Aurelian kept up improvements in the city, greatly enlarging its circuit; but he came to regard human life as of so little moment that after his triumph, when a civil war broke out, in a pitched battle on the Cælian, seven thousand veteran soldiers, who had assembled merely to participate in the triumph, were punished by death, and such was his vindictiveness in executing the offenders in this civil strife that the hangmen were weary, the prisons full and the Senate in mourning for its illustrious dead. But this was fatal to himself, for a conspiracy was soon formed against him; and when marching against the Persians he was cut down near the Bosphorus, in 275, by one of his bodyguard. Fancying that all the troubles in the Empire were due

to the Christians, he was just preparing for a wholesale persecution of the sect when he was murdered. Gibbon says: "He died regretted by the army, detested by the Senate, but universally acknowledged as a warlike and fortunate prince, the useful though severe reformer of a degenerate State."

CHAPTER XXXIII

TACITUS, PROBUS, CARUS, CARINUS AND NUMERIAN, DIOCLETIAN, MAXIMIANUS, CONSTANTIUS AND GALERIUS, SEVERUS, CONSTANTINE THE GREAT, MAXENTIUS, MAXIMIN II. AND LICINIUS, CONSTANTINE II., CONSTANTIUS, CONSTANS.

275 A.D.—360 A.D.

AFTER an interregnum of eight months in which order was well maintained, because Aurelian's trained officers still continued in power, the barbarians and the Persian monarch again threatened the Empire, and the Senate called from the retirement of his villa in the Campania an old Senator, Tacitus, a descendant of the renowned historian. He told them he had not the physical strength to sustain himself in the field, and that the soldiers would not respect such a weak old man, accustomed only to peace and retirement, but they shouted all the more: "Tacitus Augustus, the gods preserve thee, accept the Empire from the authority of the Senate." They then compelled him to assume the sovereignty. He tried to restore the ancient Republic as Augustus had preserved it and the virtues of Trajan had built it up. Circular letters were sent out to all the provinces, Carthage, Antioch, Athens, Alexandria, etc., claiming their obedience under the restored authority of the Senate. This prosperous civic administration was cut short by a

Scythian invasion, which Tacitus soon put down with great energy; but, being transported in the depths of winter to the valley of the Caucasus, his health failed and his amiable character was unable to cope with officers who, accustomed to severity, disdained his gentle authority. After a useful reign of seven months he died.

The army was now in Cappadocia and immediately elected the brave general, Probus, whose whole reign was a continued conquest. He quelled rebellions in Egypt, recovering seventy flourishing cities oppressed by the invasion of that nation, and made them contribute sixteen thousand recruits for the Roman army. He also drove back the Franks and vanquished the Burgundians. Whatever country his conquering army subdued felt the influence of his civic virtues in the cultivation of the arts of peace. After having driven back all the enemies from the east and west and north, he had begun to think of abolishing the standing army; but, this coming to the ears of some officers, he was assassinated in 282 after a reign of over six years.

The authority the Senate had enjoyed during the last two reigns subsided with Carus, the prefect of Probus, whom the army now made Emperor. Carus immediately set out on a war against Persia, and was marching through Thrace and Asia Minor when Persian envoys, sent in Oriental magnificence to negotiate peace, found the Emperor of all the Romans ignominiously sitting on the grass in the midst of his soldiers eating his supper of stale bacon and peas and clothed in a coarse purple woolen garment, the only badge of his royalty. The ambassadors would not accept his extravagant terms, and Carus, removing his hat, told them that he would make their country as

bare as his bald head. He then ravaged Mesopotamia, and extended his arms beyond the Tigris. The fall of Persia, the conquest of Arabia, the submission of Egypt and the deliverance from the Scythians were heralded by the Romans.

But on the evening of Christmas, 283 A.D., while a terrible thunder-storm was in progress, some mutineers, it is thought, murdered him in his tent, setting fire to the curtain and burning his body in the flames. They sent word to Rome, however, that he had been struck by lightning, because the gods were displeased at the enterprise against the Persians.

The two sons of Carus succeeded their father, Carinus in Gaul and Numerian in Persia. Because an oracle had marked the Tigris as the boundary of the Empire the latter's army soon retreated from Persia. On account of failing eye-sight Numerian had to be conveyed on his journey in a litter, issuing his orders through his minister, Aper. He soon died mysteriously, and Aper continued to proclaim decrees in the king's name to the army until, at the end of eight months, they reached the Bosphorus. There the soldiers broke into the royal tent and, discovering the embalmed body of the Emperor, immediately accused Aper of his murder.

There was in the Roman army a Dalmatian soldier named Diocletian, the son of a slave of a Roman Senator. A legend tells this story of his accession to the throne of the Empire. "A druidess in Gaul had told Diocletian that he would become Emperor by the slaughter of a boar; but up to this time in spite of all the wild boars which he had killed he seemed no nearer to being prince. Although by birth the child of a slave, Diocletian had obtained his freedom and

worked his way up to the office of Military tribune, so that Aper was seized after the discovery of his fraud, and brought before him. Suddenly remembering the prophecy of the wizard, Diocletian promptly plunged his sword into the prisoner's heart, thus fulfilling the decree, since Aper in Latin means a boar. Immediately thereupon, in 284, he was proclaimed Emperor under the name of Diocletian.

Carinus, who had proved to be one of the worst of the Western Emperors, after having defeated Diocletian in Moesia, was struck down by one of his generals while on the march, and Diocletian was left sole Emperor in 285 A.D. To better defend the East and West, he appointed Maximian, his intimate friend, as his colleague, in 286, both assuming the title of Augustus. As an additional precaution against setting up Emperors of their own, each associated with himself another, who was called a Cæsar. Galerius was the partner and successor of Diocletian; and Constantius, one of the brave generals of Carus' army, was Maximian's associate. Each Cæsar was appointed on condition that he should marry a daughter of the Augustus whose successor he was to be, even if it were necessary to put away his wife. Thus there were four princes on the throne, who divided the Roman Empire between them. Gaul, Spain and Britain were assigned to Constantius; the Danubian provinces and Illyria were entrusted to Galerius; and Maximian took charge of Italy and Africa, while Diocletian assumed the sovereignty of Greece, Egypt, Thrace and Asia. Each monarch was obliged to use all his strength quelling insurrections which immediately broke out in their realms.

Diocletian is considered one of the most upright Em-

perors, while Maximian was one of the cruelest. The wife of Diocletian was believed to be a Christian, while Helena, the wife of Constantius, whom, according to agreement, he was obliged to divorce on becoming a Cæsar, has come down through all ages as the typical devotee; but Maximian and Galerius aimed to annihilate the Christian faith, Maximian even destroying a whole legion of Christian soldiers who refused to sacrifice on a heathen altar.

A large part of the life of both Diocletian and Maximian was spent in camps; for Diocletian, not wishing to acknowledge allegiance to the Senate, never visited Rome; and the absence of the court was the deathblow to the power of that once august body. The two sovereigns, when they had a little respite from the army, retired to their respective palaces, Diocletian to Nicomedia, which he had made a capital vying with Rome, and Maximian to Milan, this being the period of Milan's Imperial splendor. Before Diocletian's time the Emperors walked about among the citizens and were saluted with the same respect as Senators, but Diocletian introduced the magnificence of the Persian court. He lived apart in effeminate luxury, wearing garments of silk wrought with gold, a diadem set with pearls, and even his shoes were covered with precious stones, while his palace was guarded by eunuchs, and all prostrated themselves before him. To support this splendor and to carry on the numerous wars with the barbarians he was obliged to tax the State far beyond its means, thus grinding down the poor.

Diocletian at first, out of regard for his wife, tolerated the Christians; but, after the destructive fire in Nicomedia in which many Christians were implicated, the sect was hunted down from one end of the Empire

to the other, except in Britain, where Constantius reigned. It is thought that Galerius, Diocletian's Cæsar, instigated the terrible cruelties, though it often happened that the Emperors who were best in other respects caused the worst and longest persecutions.

By great military ability Diocletian had succeeded in conquering every enemy. But when he was fifty-nine years old, after a long illness, feeling that his best energies were exhausted, he withdrew from public life. Before his departure he was given a splendid triumph, the last ever celebrated in Rome. Accordingly on May 1, 305 A.D., on an immense plain three miles from Nicomedia, Diocletian observed an elaborate ceremony of abdication and retired to Salona in his native province of Dalmatia on the Grecian shore of the Adriatic. Maximian, according to agreement, abdicated at Milan the same day. Martial in tastes and finding the retirement irksome, the latter often urged Diocletian to resume royal rule; but Diocletian argued that of all arts that of reigning was the most difficult, since many important and critical affairs had necessarily to be left to the irresponsible parties, and he said to Maximian: "If you could see the cabbages I have planted at Salona, you would not wonder that I scorn the splendor of a throne."

Notwithstanding the delight he had in his vegetable-garden, Diocletian spared no wealth or pains to make his retreat a scene of opulence and splendor. From the veranda of his magnificent palace the view was superb. It was made up of mountains and valleys, while a bay of the Adriatic, which was like a picturesque lake, studded with beautiful islands, lay in front of his extensive estate. His palace covered ten acres, the principal entrance being called the "Golden Gate,"

and gorgeous temples were reared on his grounds in honor of pagan gods. In spite of all this magnificence, Diocletian's declining years were blighted with gloom, so that the sun seemed shut out from his gardens and lovely arbors. His death in 313 is shrouded in mystery, since it is not known whether he finally took his own life or was killed by lingering poison. The eighteen years after the abdication of Diocletian and Maximian were a time of the greatest discord in the State.

The two Cæsars, Constantius and Galerius, had now become Augusti. The Western division of the Empire, Gaul, Spain and Britain, was apportioned to Constantius, a man noted for clemency, temperance and moderation, who soon stopped the persecution of the Christians in that section. The Eastern was given to Galerius; and now two more Cæsars were appointed, one being Licinius and the other Constantine, the son of Constantius.

Constantius and his son were over in Britain quelling a revolt when Constantius was taken sick and died at York in 306, fifteen months after he had been made regular Emperor. Constantine, who was then thirty-two years of age, was declared his successor. He had been sent to Diocletian as a hostage for his father's loyalty, and was a youth of fine appearance and great physical courage.

Maximian now tried to assume the position of Emperor again; and Galerius raised Severus, one of his partisans, to the throne in opposition to Constantine, while he appointed his nephew Maximin as Cæsar. Maximian soon conquered Severus and condemned him to death. Galerius then marched to Rome to avenge the latter, but Maximian had in the meantime been

driven out of Italy by his son Maxentius, acting Emperor there, and had found refuge with his son-in-law, Constantine. In the latter's absence, however, Maximian took the opportunity to excite the soldiers to mutiny, and Constantine was obliged to pursue him to Marseilles, where he took him captive and put him to death in 310.

Before the death of Maximian there had been six Emperors at one time: Galerius and Licinius, Maximin II., Maximian, his son Maxentius, and his son-in-law Constantine. Galerius soon succumbed to a life of vice, and Maximin II. and Licinius divided his share of the Empire between them, while Constantine and Maxentius had the Western Empire, besides Britain and Gaul.

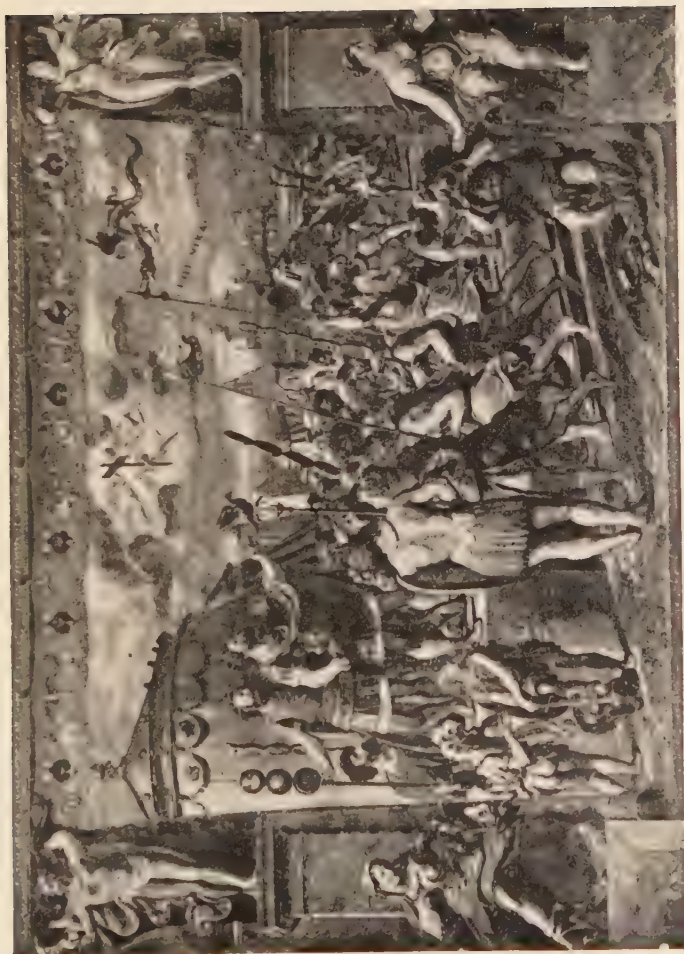
Constantine, hearing that Maxentius, who had reigned six years and claimed the whole of the monarchy of the West, was plotting against him, now set out with forty thousand men, only one-fourth of Maxentius' force, and was within four hundred miles of Rome before Maxentius knew that he had left Gaul. He had made so many prisoners as he went along that he had to engage a large number of smiths to hammer the swords of the vanquished into shackles with which to bind them. Finally at Saxa Rubra, in 312, within nine miles from Rome, he gained a tremendous victory over the superior forces of Maxentius. The latter, in attempting to cross the Milvian bridge in flight, was thrown into the river and sank to the bottom on account of the weight of his armor. He was found in the mud the next day, and his head was exposed to the rejoicing populace, who gave Constantine a triumph and erected the arch of that name in memory of the victory.

Constantine up to this time had been doubtful between Christianity and paganism ; but while at Metz in his tent at night near Saxa Rubra, he had seen in the heavens a flaming cross, surrounded with the words : "*In hoc signo vinces*" (In this sign shalt thou conquer). There is in the Vatican, in the Sala di Constantino, a painting in which this episode with Maxentius' army is most graphically brought out. Ever after this a cross was engraved on his banners and on the shields of his soldiers.

Constantine now entered Rome as a Christian, and from this time Christianity became the religion of the State. Maximin II. was soon afterwards slain in battle in Syria ; but Licinius caused Constantine continuous trouble for more than eight years, until in 323 B.C., after Constantine's government was thoroughly established, he was conquered and deprived of his share of the Empire. At the request of his wife, Constantia, the sister of Constantine, Licinius was allowed to live luxuriously in Thessalonica ; but later in the year, finding him again plotting against his Empire, Constantine felt obliged to put him to death. Thus the government was again united under one Emperor in 324 A.D., and Constantine reigned alone over what was then called the whole world. With the death of Licinius Constantine's wars ended, since he had made the Empire so secure that any attempt to usurp his power would have been vain.

After the proclamation of Christianity as the established religion it attained such supremacy that even the heathen temples of Greece and Rome were made into Christian churches, and no business except the freeing of slaves was permitted anywhere on Sunday.

Helena, the mother of Constantine, made a pilgrim-



"IN HOC SIGNO VINCES."

age to Jerusalem and hunted up all the holy places to make them shrines for pilgrims. She built a temple over what she thought fulfilled the conditions of the Holy Sepulchre, and she also had the sacred staircase removed from the house of Pontius Pilate in Jerusalem and placed in the old church of St. John in Lateran in Rome, this chapel being the only part of the original building now remaining. She preserved the Holy House of Nazareth, which, according to the legend, was afterwards transported by angels to Loreto on the Adriatic, a magnificent basilica having since been erected there over it.

During these two centuries, in spite of persecutions of great malignity, vivid pictures of which are seen in the Church of San Stefano in Rotondo in Rome, Christianity had spread over the whole region between the Euphrates and the Ionian Sea. Since there was now no danger in being a Christian, godless people, who wanted to gain influence joined the Christian sect, and the Church rapidly degenerated and lost its simplicity and purity, so that soon the whole of the Christian world was filled with dissensions, schisms and heresies.

Having little attachment for Rome, Constantine preferred to spend much of his time in Arles and Trier, Milan, Sirmium, and Naissus, and at last he decided to found a permanent Christian capital. The place he chose, the old Greek Byzantium, was on the shore of the Black Sea, where Asia and Europe are only divided by a narrow channel, the Bosphorus; for he thought that in this central position he could better rule the East and West. Here he erected a palace in the midst of magnificent church edifices, and called the city Constantinople, after himself. He surrounded himself with bishops and clergy, causing all ornamenta-

tion transferred from Rome to be consecrated. Constantine wished posterity to think that he founded the city in obedience to the commands of God; therefore he claimed that, as he slept within the walls, a vision appeared to him. A venerable matron sinking under the weight of years was suddenly transformed into a blooming maiden, whom his own hand had adorned with all the symbols of Imperial greatness. When he awoke, he is said to have begun the work.

The first Œcumenical Council was held at Nicæa in 324, where Constantine assembled three hundred and eighteen bishops from all parts of the Empire to discuss the new doctrines of Arius. Many came bearing marks of the persecutions they had suffered in Diocletian's time.

The Emperor sat in state as the head of the Council, though not yet baptized. Athanasius, a deacon of Alexandria, combated the doctrine of Arius; and the Nicene Creed, which represented the Athanasian belief, was signed by all the bishops but two, these having to suffer banishment. It was at this time that the belief of the church was first called Catholic, which meant orthodox, and the doctrine of those who attacked it was styled heresy.

Athanasius, who was now made head bishop of Alexandria, persecuted all those who followed Arius; while Constantine, influenced by Eusebius, bishop of Nicomedia, protected Arius and commanded Athanasius to exclude no one from the Church. On refusing to obey, Athanasius was banished, and Arius, taking courage, came to Constantinople and insisted upon being received back into the communion, at the same time exhibiting the Nicene Creed, and saying that he believed that which he held in his hand; but he kept

hidden under it a statement of his own heresy, which was really what he believed. Constantine told him that God only knew his heart, and permitted him to receive the communion. But when on the way to church Arius was suddenly stricken down, Constantine was cured of leaning to the Arian doctrine. He would not, however, recall Athanasius from exile.

Soon after this, believing the false stories told by Fausta, his young and attractive second wife, Constantine had his own beloved son Crispus put to death; but when he found out the truth about this, and concerning other crimes of hers, he had Fausta suffocated and erected a statue to his son, bearing the inscription: "To my son, whom I unjustly condemned." Grief on account of these tragedies undermined his health and, worn out, he retired to one of his country seats in the suburbs of Nicomedia, where he died in 337 A.D., in the sixty-fourth year of his age and the thirty-first of an exceptionally prosperous reign. When Constantine felt his strength failing he saw his transgressions in their true light, and called Sylvester to administer the rite of baptism, which in those early days was often postponed until the deathbed.

No monarch has ever received more general commendation, nor more severe criticism, nor have the incidents of any royal life been of more interest than those of Constantine the Great. Some have said that his mother Helena was the daughter of a British king, but it is established on good authority that her father was nothing but an innkeeper. Whatever his lineage was, Constantine proved a very able ruler, and possessed great executive ability. He constructed a mechanism of government which at the same time separated the civil from military administration and united

both in the hands of the sovereign, thus giving him absolute power. Traces of his system are still recognized in some of the codes of Europe. In the process of his reconstruction the Prætorian Guard was abolished for all time.

It is thought that his reason for protecting Christianity was that he saw how the vast structure of a centralized empire could not be built up on the fragments of paganism, but that a fresh and vigorous principle was needed, which only the new religion could furnish.

Constantine loved glory, was fearless and boundless in his ambition and was possessed of great political sagacity. He made his court outshine that of Oriental princes, "creating a hierarchy of officials, which has to this day remained the model for European monarchs, such titles as His Excellency, Duke, Count, and Viscount originating with him."

Constantine was majestic and graceful in person, and his features were cut in a fine mold. In his habits he exhibited the virtues of moderation and temperance. He had great powers of endurance, both physical and intellectual, and possessed a large fund of information gained from books and travel; while in the field he displayed alike the bravery of a soldier and the talent of a general. His labor for the State was unintermittent, and he did what he thought was for its good in face of all criticism.

Before his death Constantine partitioned the Empire, giving it to his three surviving sons, and calling them all Cæsars. Ignoring this allotment, however, each suited himself in the division; Constantine established himself at Constantinople in command of the central provinces, Constantius II. taking charge of

the Eastern and Constans of the Western realm. They were all dissolute young men of the several ages of twenty-one, twenty, and seventeen years. Desiring to keep supreme power in their hands, they immediately put to death all excepting two of the descendants of their grandfather, Constantius I., who is known as Constantius Chlorus.

Constantius II. was at once obliged to enter upon the hardships of campaigning life on the Plains of Mesopotamia against the Persians, and he, therefore, took no part in the struggles and death of his brothers. He was a feeble prince, entirely devoid of merit. In war he feared his generals, and in peace he distrusted his ministers, and from his very weakness he became a tyrant. Three years after their father's death, 340 A.D., Constantine II. tried to supplant his brother Constans, breaking into his dominion near Aquileia, and in the battle which followed he was lured into an ambuscade and slain. Constans immediately attached Constantianople and all the other domains of his brother, and thus became the undisputed sovereign of two-thirds of the Roman Empire.

Ten years after this, in 350, Magnentius, an ambitious soldier of barbarian stock, and one of Constantine the Great's generals, conspired against Constans. When he was out hunting one day he closed the gates of the city against him, and at midnight, in the midst of a great feast, was himself proclaimed Emperor. Constans fled, but was overtaken at the foot of the Pyrenees and slain. Magnentius then associated with him Vetranio, a hitherto trusted general of Constantius II., who already held sway over the countries of Illyricum, but who now proved traitor to his master. He was soon, however, subdued by Constantius II.,

and Magnentius was acknowledged as Emperor over all the provinces in the West.

When Constantius II. heard of the death of his brother and Magnentius' assumption of the throne, he left the government in charge of his lieutenants and marched to Italy. He met Magnentius at Mursa, on September 28, 351 A.D., in a most sanguinary battle, which only ended at nightfall with a loss of one hundred and twenty thousand veteran Roman soldiers against fifty thousand of his own army. Magnentius fled to Gaul, but was pursued, and, to escape Constantius, took his own life in 353.

Constantius now reigned over the whole of the Roman Empire, from the western shores of Britain to the banks of the Tigris, and from central Germany to the interior of Africa. Although nominally a Christian, he used less discretion in promulgating the doctrine than his father had done, often allowing heathen worship in some of their temples, while still persecuting the pagans.

Constantine the Great had two nephews, Gallus and Julian, the only two relatives left, in the general massacre by his sons. They had been kept in exile under the care of the eunuchs who had usurped Constantius' government, and the youths were educated partly by the Bishop Eusebius, the Emperor's chamberlain, partly in Ionia, and partly in a lonely remote castle in Cappadocia. When Gallus was twenty-five years old he was permitted to take the title of Cæsar, and with his wife, the Princess Constantia, he governed with great cruelty at Antioch. Constantius, seeing how disgracefully Gallus conducted himself, sent him to Istria, where he had him put to death in a prison in 354. Julian was then seized and confined in Milan and after-

wards sent to Athens, where he spent his time in the study of philosophy and letters. The boys had both been brought up as Christians, but Julian made the acquaintance of eminent rhetoricians in Nicomedia, and while he was in Athens, the happiest period of his life, he associated with the most accomplished scholars. Though he had long secretly been devoted to the pagan faith, he now openly embraced the Platonic philosophy, and from that time has been known as "Julian the Apostate." A little while after, Constantius, being overwhelmed by the inroads of the Goths and the ravages of the Persian monarch, listened to the advice of his Empress Eusebia, and gave his sister Helena to Julian in marriage, making him governor, on the Italian side of the Alps, with the title of Cæsar. Julian was now only twenty-five years old.

Constantius visited Rome and temporarily revived its former splendor. He was greeted with such acclamation that he determined to take up his residence in the Palace of Augustus, which had been the home of no monarch for thirty-two years. He remained only a month, however, spending the time in visiting Rome's monuments and works of art, greatly admiring the majestic structures of the capital. When he went away he had a magnificent obelisk transported from Egypt, one of several of which stood before the temple at Karnak. It was floated from the Nile to the Tiber on a vessel constructed for the purpose, and became one of the embellishments of the city, which remains there to-day in front of the Church of St. John in Lateran.

Constantius II. was recalled from Rome to ward off the ravages of a horde of barbarians along the frontier, and also the inroads of Sapor, while Julian was sent to finish conquering other fierce barbarians of the

North. This was difficult for that scholarly man, and he was heard to exclaim: "Plato! Plato! what a task thou has set for a philosopher to meet!" Notwithstanding this, he developed the most surprising traits of character, which were admired not only by contemporaries, but posterity. He inured himself to every hardship of the cold climate of northern Gaul, sleeping on the floor and arising in the night to despatch business and go the rounds of the camp; at the same time, disdaining the delicacies of the table, he shared the coarse fare of his soldiers.

At the head of thirteen thousand men he scattered twenty-five thousand of the bravest German warriors, in the memorable battle of Strasburg in 357, slaying six thousand. After the battle, in order to punish six hundred Roman cuirassiers of his own army, who had fled in a panic, he exposed them to the derision of the soldiers by dressing them in women's clothes. After driving back the Franks, he crossed the Rhine and penetrated the unknown parts of the North, liberating twenty thousand Roman slaves. To relieve a famine here, Julian had six hundred large barks of corn from the coast of Britain distributed among the needy. He then, during the year 359, selected Paris as his winter quarters; and where Julius Cæsar had found only a few fishermen's huts on a small island in the Seine, now the "Cité" and the present location of the Church of Notre Dame, Julian even then discovered a populated Roman town with baths and aqueducts, connected to the shore by two wooden bridges.

It was called Lutetia, or the City of Mire, and the suburbs were separated from it by surrounding walls. Julian was fond of the place and built a palace there for himself.

CHAPTER XXXIV

RAPID DECLINE OF THE EMPIRE.—JULIAN, JOVIAN, VALENTINIAN I. AND VALENS, GRATIAN, VALENTINIAN II.—THEODOSIUS, ARCADIUS AND HONORIUS.—CAREER OF ALARIC AND ATTLA.—VALENTINIAN III., MAXIMUS, AVITUS, MAJORIANUS, SEVERUS.—ANTHEMIUS, OLYBRIUS, GLYCERIUS, JULIUS NEPOS, ROMULUS AUGUSTULUS.—CAREER OF RICIMER AND ODOACER.

360 A.D.—476 A.D.

CONSTANTIUS II. grew jealous of Julian's glory, and, in order to weaken his power, detached a large division of his army, and had it forwarded to himself in Persia. But the soldiers refused to leave Julian, and, rallying around him, declared him their Emperor; and now the two sovereigns, one from the center of Gaul and the other from beyond the Euphrates, set out to meet and fight each other. It would have been months before they met, since there were thousands of miles between them, but just as Julian was entering the passes of the Alps he heard with joy of the death of Constantius, which had taken place at Tarsus in 361 A.D., and he therefore hastened to Constantinople without going to Rome. Constantius on his deathbed had named Julian as his successor; and the latter was received also in his own right as undisputed ruler of the Roman Empire at the age of thirty-two years.

Julian in some respects was one of the best of the Emperors, some even classing him with the Anto-

nines. He proceeded immediately to reform the abuses he found in the royal palace, greatly retrenching the expenses; but although he pretended that all forms of religion were open to the people, nevertheless he hindered the propagation of Christianity with every conceivable obstacle. He robbed churches of their property, and restored temples, setting up statues and altars to heathen gods, and erasing the name of Christ from the Labarum. He removed Christians from all the desirable offices, installing pagans, while he deprived their children of the privileges of education, and at all times he held the Christian religion in derision. Knowing that the sect gloried in the name of Christ he enjoined the appellation "Galileans" as a less honorable title.

During the last six months of Julian's life, in order to prove that Christ was a false prophet, he conceived the idea of re-establishing the old Jewish temple on Mount Moriah, the site of the present Mosque of Omar, in its pristine magnificence. The Jews entered into the idea with great earnestness, since they wished to eclipse the glory of the church edifice built over the Holy Sepulchre on Mount Calvary, and accordingly they assisted with contributions of every description, while the Christians entertained a pious expectation that the honor of religion would be vindicated by some signal miracle. As the work was being pushed vigorously on, horrible balls of fire broke out near the foundation, rendering it impossible to proceed on account of the superstition of the workmen; and Julian was obliged to abandon the project. But the Christians thought these explosions from pent-up gas were a miracle in their behalf.

Julian was more bitter against the Catholic Chris-

tians than the Arian sect ; and he is said to have “ honored Athanasius with a sincere and peculiar hatred.” The latter had come back to Alexandria in 362 and was accused by Julian of baptizing Greek women of noble birth ; and the Emperor said he would not tolerate such a wretch. Accordingly Athanasius was obliged to hide among the hermits of the Thebaid. These solitary people were men and women who in the time of Constantine had seen the growing corruption of the Church ; and, desirous of living lives of real piety, had retired to secluded places to serve God by meditation, fasting and prayer ; and this was the foundation of the great number of convents and monasteries which have since been scattered over all lands.

Athanasius at one time hid in a disused cistern, and, during Jovian’s reign, in his father’s tomb for four months. Whenever search was made to hunt him out a blast was sounded, which called up all the hermits and he was hidden elsewhere. A story is told of how, “ when he was going down the Nile, after secretly visiting his people in Alexandria, he heard a boatful of soldiers coming after him, and, turning back, met them. They asked if Athanasius had been seen. Perceiving that he was not recognized, he said that such a man was going down the Nile a little while ago ; whereupon his enemies hurried on, and he went safely on his way.” From time to time, when he returned from his banishment, the people rushed in crowds, joyful to be able even to look upon his face.

Julian was disappointed at the failure of his plans to subdue the Christians, and it was feared that another great persecution was pending ; but when he was conducting sixty-five thousand troops, the largest, though in some respects the most unsuccessful, army

ever led against the Persians across the parched desert of Mesopotamia, he was slain in 363 A.D., pierced by a javelin.

The retreating army hastened to choose Jovian, officer of the Imperial guard, as Emperor. He was an irresolute character, and saw no way except to make the best treaty he was able with Sapor. In doing this he was obliged to give up the five provinces beyond the Tigris ceded by the grandfather of Sapor to the Romans. All the garrisons were withdrawn from these provinces and the army left the banks of the Tigris forever in great humiliation; and thus ended without glory the great war with the Parthians, which had cost the Romans so many lives. From this point the dismemberment of the Roman Empire went on with accelerated speed.

Jovian marched from Nisibis toward Antioch with the Labarum of Constantine flying above his legions. This Labarum was a standard to which was attached a silken veil wrought with the image of Constantine and his children; and on the top was a crown of gold enclosing the mysterious monogram consisting of the cross and the initials of the letters of Christ's name. This was first used in commemoration of Constantine's vision of a flaming cross in the heavens with the words, "*In hoc signo vinces.*" Jovian repealed all the edicts against Christianity and all the hideous surroundings of paganism never again revived. He immediately recalled Athanasius from his exile, and was looking forward with fond anticipation to a peaceful contented reign in Constantinople; but in 364, when the army had already been seven months from Antioch (fifteen hundred miles), and had reached a little town called Dadastana, three hundred miles from the

Imperial city, Jovian was accidentally stifled to death by the fumes from a charcoal fire in his apartment. His remains were met on the road by a procession accompanied by his broken-hearted wife, who conducted them to the Imperial tomb in Constantinople.

After an interregnum of ten days the army at Nicæa in Bithynia invested with the diadem Valentinian, an officer of great merit, who, on account of his Christian faith, had been dismissed from the service under Julian, and was living in the enjoyment of a large fortune. Valentinian was tall, graceful, and majestic in person, temperate in his habits, and endowed with a comprehensive and commanding mind. He was a man worthy of the honor bestowed upon him. Valentinian took charge of the Western Empire, with Milan as his capital, and his brother Valens, whom he associated with him, was given the Eastern Empire from the Danube to the confines of Persia, with Constantinople as capital; while Rome was left to a gradual decay and soon lost all her ancient splendor and prestige.

The barbarians now assailed the whole Roman Empire; the Picts and Scots rushed down upon Britain from the mountains of Caledonia, and all along the Rhine and Danube Gothic tribes in inexhaustible numbers, under the powerful influence of the aged Hermanerich, and the Franks and Alemanni also devastated the country with fire and sword. After twelve years of almost incessant warfare, on the 17th of November, 375 A.D. Valentinian, although only fifty-four years of age, while fighting the Quadri, died suddenly in camp, from one of his fits of rage, aroused on account of opposition during a council of war, his violent temper being really his chief fault. He is said to have kept

a cage of bears near his apartments to which he consigned those who had incurred his displeasure by opposing his will. His brother Valens was weaker in character and was as strong an Arian as Valentinian was a Catholic. He banished Athanasius for the fifth time; but the Church in Alexandria allowed him to die there. The Goths living on the banks of the Danube were Teutons, like the Franks and Saxons. They had been greatly inspired to push on to further conquests by Hermanerich, and after becoming quite civilized were rapidly learning the Arian doctrine of Christianity. In their early expeditions to the East they had carried away captive a little boy of the tribe of the Amali, whom they called Ulfilas (Little Wolf). He was born 318 A.D., and from his earliest years he devoted his life to the overthrow of paganism. In Valentinian's reign he executed the first translation of the Bible in the Gothic tongue, a part of which is still preserved in the Upsala Library in Sweden, written on purple vellum in silver letters, the only remaining specimen of the Gothic language of that day. Ulfilas was made a Bishop in Constantinople; and, notwithstanding his Arian doctrine was considered heretical by the Church, he was never hindered in his work of religious instruction after he was brought from the East, until his death at the age of sixty, his faith continuing the established religion of the Goths for five hundred years.

While Valentinian, on the banks of the Rhine, was contending against the Northern barbarians, Valens, in the East, had been engaged in a desperate contest against the Huns, a branch of the great Mongolian family, who had come forth in numberless legions from the plains of Tartary, and three centuries before

Christ a wall fifteen hundred miles in length had been built to defend the frontier of China against their inroads. These savages were distinguished from the rest of human kind by their broad shoulders, flat noses and small black eyes set deep in their foreheads. They were as greedy as wolves, so that even the Goths, who were tall, brave and strong, fled in terror at their approach, and in 376 came to Valens, asking for new homes in Thrace. In return for his hospitality, however, the Goths laid seige to Adrianople and Constantinople, and overrunning the whole territory of the Adriatic, a million in all, they threatened Italy herself. In the battle before Adrianople, where their side numbered two hundred thousand warriors, on the 9th of August, 378, Valens was routed, and, plunging rashly into the midst of the enemy, was slain, two-thirds of the army being destroyed. This is said to have been a more fatal battle than that of Cannæ. Valens is handed down as a weak and cruel prince.

The whole Empire was thrown into deep gloom, and Gratian, the son and successor of Valentinian, then seventeen years old, after consulting the best advisers, nominated Theodosius, a brave young Spaniard and a great general, to occupy the place vacated by the death of Valens. Theodosius made peace with the Goths, and, carrying out the now long-established custom of employing foreign barbarian troops, he took their young men, who had proved excellent soldiers, into his armies. For sixteen years this valiant officer and Emperor maintained his position against the ever-increasing flood of assailants, recruiting his legions from every nation of barbarians, whether Germans, Gauls, Goths or Moors, so that during his reign, notwithstanding the effeminacy of the regular Roman

army, not a single province of the Italian realm was lost.

Gratian was a pleasure-loving sovereign, and, caring little for glory gained by wars, retired to Paris and lived in inglorious luxury and every kind of folly, even imitating the dress of his Gothic soldiers. Maximus, the Governor of Britain, seeing this, revolted, and crossing the channel with his troops attacked Gratian, who, finding himself abandoned by his army, fled to Lyons. Here Maximus overtook him and put him to death in 383 A.D. Later, however, in 388, Theodosius took Maximus captive near Aquileia and had him executed.

Valentinian II., Gratian's half-brother, had been nominally associated from childhood with the latter in the government of the West; and Theodosius now established him in his rightful possessions, where he reigned virtuously and well; but before he was twenty years old, in 392, he was assassinated by the Frank, Argobast; and Eugenius, a veteran warrior and heathen philosopher, temporarily assumed the crown. Theodosius soon slew Eugenius, and then assumed the dominion of the whole Eastern and Western government; but in less and four months afterwards he died at Milan, in 394, the last of the real Roman Emperors.

Theodosius, who was an Athanasian or Catholic Christian, had always fought under the Labarum. His piety amounted to bigotry, and his severe edict against heretics blotted his name, the slaughter of fifteen thousand Thessalonican Christians being his most cruel act. His contrition for this was so great that he had a law passed that thirty days must henceforth intervene between condemnation and execution. Finally St. Ambrose received him back into full com-

munion, and history gives him a place in its annals as one of the very purest and noblest monarchs who ever sat upon the Roman throne.

This was the time of great men in the Church. There was St. Hilarius, and, coming soon after, Martin of Tours, Chrysostom, and others; but St. Augustine was the greatest of all. Through the influence of his mother, Monica, and St. Ambrose, Augustine finally became a hearty believer and the defender of all that was good.

The two sons of Theodosius now succeeded to the throne, Arcadius to the East with dominion over Thrace, Greece, Asia Minor, Syria and Egypt; while Honorius governed the West, including Italy, Africa, Gaul, Spain and Britain, with the Danubian provinces of Noricum, Panonia and Dalmatia, the vast prefecture of Illyricum being divided between the two. The weak Western Empire, however, was fast going to decay.

Honorius was only eleven years old and ruled in Italy under the care of his minister, Stilicho, continuing a weak, shiftless prince to the end of his reign of twenty-eight years; while Arcadius, a youth of eighteen at the death of his father, was put under the charge of a Roman officer, the Goth, Rufinus, who soon regarded the throne as his prerogative and looked upon Arcadius simply as his pupil.

Stilicho was a Vandal by birth, but through serving in Roman armies had learned Roman methods. He was dauntless and faithful, and was connected with the Imperial family through his wife Serena, a niece of Theodosius, his own daughter being already betrothed to the boy Honorius.

Rufinus was a mean-spirited fellow and quarreled

with the other ministers of Arcadius. Out of spite he invited the Goths under Alaric to come out of their peaceful settlements on the Danube to invade Greece and Italy. This Alaric, King of the Visigoths, was a resistless foe, and although a barbarian, possessed the instincts of a man brought up in civilized life. He had fought under Theodosius, and had been the chosen companion of Gratian.

The Goths now, in 396 A.D., passed the Danube, overran Macedon and spread all over Greece. Being Arian Christians, they pulled down all the pagan statues and temples, leaving only Athens, as it was supposed, on account of a vision of Apollo and Pallas Athene with her formidable Ægis.

Arcadius in alarm for his own safety sent to Honorius for aid, and the latter despatched Stilicho, who, after marching through Thrace, murdered Rufinus and defeated Alaric in a battle in the Peloponnesus, driving him as far as Epirus, where the Goths took a stand in 396 A.D. Arcadius, when Stilicho retired in 398, arranged with Alaric to guard his part of the Empire, and to fight Honorius and Stilicho as well as the barbarians.

Alaric, delighted at such an opportunity, crossed the plains of Lombardy in 400 A.D., the Goths taking with them their wagons and treasures, and in 403 A.D. he was defeated by Stilicho in a great battle at Pollentia, which was compared with the victory of Marius over the barbarians nearly five hundred years before. Afterwards he gained another triumph over them at Verona, and for the time Alaric was driven out of Italy. In 408 A.D. Stilicho was murdered by Honorius on account of being accused of treason and complicity with the barbarians. Gibbon says that "the first

moment of public safety is devoted to gratitude, while the second is occupied by envy and calumny." Alaric then marched with great pomp through the Alps into Italy and besieged Milan. Finding no court there, since Honorius had fled to Ravenna in alarm, he soon appeared before the walls of Rome.

It was six hundred years since the Eternal City, in the time of Hannibal, had been threatened by a foe. Only the great walls built by Aurelian remained to remind one of its fallen greatness, however, and the Romans were soon forced by famine to a temporary peace, while Honorius was obliged to surrender the most promising sons of Rome to Alaric as hostages. But Honorius cared nothing for this. He went on as usual, devoting his time to the care of his poultry, and only inquired if they were sure it was not his pet hen called by the name of "Rome" which had been destroyed.

The ransom the Romans are said to have promised was enormous, including five thousand pounds weight of gold, thirty thousand of silver, and four thousand silken robes, besides three thousand pieces of scarlet cloth. In order to cancel the debt they were obliged to melt down all their silver embellishments and statues, including the images of their ancient gods. Alaric then drew off his forces.

The next year, 409, Alaric returned and set up a governor of his own, by the name of Attalus, who failed so completely on account of incapacity that Alaric would have been glad to make terms with Honorius, even begging from him a position in the government. Honorius having refused to comply with Alaric's demands, the Goths entered Rome on the 24th of August, 410 A.D., and for six days con-

tinued the destruction of the grand old city, the daughters of the Romans being compelled to present the young officers with Falerian wine in golden goblets and to be at their beck and call. They destroyed the most exquisite works of art, but Alaric obliged his men to save the largest churches, such as the old St. Peter's and St. Paul's.

On his journey south, when Alaric was looking across the bay longingly to the beautiful island of Sicily, a part of his men having already embarked, he was taken ill of fever and died at Cosenza. Having diverted the waters of the Busentis, they made his grave in the river-bed and buried him with his spoils and trophies of war, at the same time slaying the prisoners who had done the work so that the place of his entombment might forever remain a mystery.

Seven years after the first invasion of Alaric, his brother-in-law, Adolphus, succeeded to the dominion of the Visigoths, and made a treaty with the Romans, which was cemented by a gorgeous wedding, in which, in 414 A.D., Adolphus was united to Placidia, the sister of Emperor Honorius. Adolphus then marched from Italy, saying that, although he once aspired to change the face of the universe and obliterate from it the name of Rome, and erect on its ruins the dominion of the Goths, seeing that the untractable spirit of that people could not support the laws of civil government, it was now his wish that future ages should think with gratitude of him as one who had employed the sword of the Goths not to destroy, but to restore and maintain the prosperity of the Roman Empire. This heroic barbarian, however, soon died, and Placidia, his wife, returned to her brother's court and married the great Constantius, a Roman general.

The Eastern Empire was already separated from the Western, though as yet only Britain had formally broken off. Soon Spain as well as Gaul gained virtual independence, so that Honorius, ignobly sheltered behind the walls of Ravenna, had in reality only Africa left; and the old Roman Empire, which had a few years before comprised the whole of the civilized world, now consisted of scarcely more than Italy.

When Honorius finally died the court of Constantinople acknowledged the claims of Placidia's son, Valentinian III., a child of six years, and after the capture of his secretary, John, who had seized the crown, he was declared Emperor in 423 A.D., with his mother Placidia as regent.

Arcadius in the meantime had been reigning quietly at Constantinople, where they had tried to simulate the former glory of Rome by keeping up the games and races in the circus. Arcadius' weak and foolish wife, Eudoxia, encouraged all kinds of vain show at great expense; and when St. Chrysostom, "the golden-mouthed preacher of Antioch," offended her by exposing her foibles, she had him driven out of the city. In spite of the indignation of the people, she finally exiled him to the shores of the Black Sea; but in 407, before he ever reached his destination, he died of fatigue on the journey.

Arcadius died in 408 A.D., leaving in the care of his elder sister, Pulcheria, a son called Theodosius II., and under his reign the Eastern Empire was at peace. Pulcheria married Marcian, who proved to be one of the best of the Eastern Emperors, although he entirely ignored the biting misery going on in the West.

Placidia, as regent, reigned with her son Valentinian III. over the Roman division of the Empire. Both

Boniface, a great general, and commander in Africa, and Ætius, who was so noted in war that he was called the "Last of the Romans," supported Placidia in her rule. It was Ætius who had been the means of defeating Attila in the great Battle of Chalons. If there had been unity of sentiment between these two generals the strength of Placidia would have been assured; but, instead of this, the differences between them meant the loss of Africa to the Romans. Ætius incited Boniface against Placidia by pretending that she was about to remove him from his command and then put him to death; and he made Placidia indignant with Boniface by influencing the latter to refuse to obey her summons and by causing her to think that Boniface meant to set himself up as Emperor in Africa. Accordingly Boniface in his wrath, contrary to the advice of the pious St. Augustine, in 408 called the Vandal Geiserich over to help him to defend his province against the angry regent.

The Vandals were another branch of the Teuton family and had the same characteristic fair hair and great height as the Goths, to which people they belonged until Constantine the Great, in order to weaken both nations, had separated them and given them different provinces. The Vandals had ravaged Italy, and then had followed the Goths to Spain, where they had established themselves in the country called Vandalusia. Before Geiserich arrived at Carthage at the call of Boniface, an understanding had been established between the latter and Placidia, and the fraud Ætius had practiced was disclosed; but, though each lamented the fatal error, it was too late; for Geiserich and his Vandals had already left Spain for Africa; and they soon seized Carthage, which

they retained for ninety years, though Boniface succeeded in keeping a part of Africa eight years longer.

Valentinian III. was supported by Theodosius II., Emperor of the East, who had helped to establish him on the throne of the West. Valentinian was now obliged to make a treaty with Geiserich, and the latter, encouraged by the surrender of the Roman provinces of Africa, attacked and plundered Sicily, Corsica, Sardinia and southern Italy, besides the coast of Greece.

There is a legend of the Seven Sleepers, which tells how, in the time of the persecution of Decius, seven Christian youths of Ephesus fell asleep in a cave in the side of a mountain, and were walled up. One hundred and eighty-seven years after, when Theodosius II. was Emperor, the proprietor of the mountain, while quarrying for building purposes, discovered these sleeping Christians and woke them. One of them was sent to the city to buy bread, to satisfy what they thought was the hunger engendered by a few hours sleep; much to his surprise he found the environment of the city strange, grotesque and novel, and he noticed more especially a cross over the great gate instead of the emblems of heathenism he had last seen. His strange dress and obsolete language confounded the baker, who looked at the ancient medal of the time of Decius which he handed him for pay, and not recognizing the coin, thought him the keeper of hidden treasures and dragged him to the judgment-seat. Bishops, clergy, magistrates and people all then assembled and followed him to the cave, where the Seven Sleepers were still rubbing their eyes in astonishment. But they blessed the multitude and told their story over and over again and then expired.

Some authorities say that it was in the catacombs at Rome that the Seven Sleepers were walled up, and that they only slept a hundred years, waking up in the time of Constantius II.

The Huns, under Attila, called "The Scourge of God," had devastated the Eastern territory and establishing themselves there demanded an annual subsidy from Rome, who, in her subjection, promised Honoria, daughter of Placidia, in marriage to Attila; but the Western Empire refused to give her up, and Attila, undaunted by the Battle of Chalons—fought the year before, in 451, with Ætius—with his legion of barbarians swept through Italy, destroying everything in his track. The Huns laid waste the whole of Venetia, leveling the renowned Aquileia, from which the inhabitants fled, and founded Venice. The court was obliged ultimately to give up Honoria in 453, and the marriage festivities were about to be celebrated with barbaric splendor in Attila's wooden palace on the Danube when the barbarian king was found dead. There was an ostentatious funeral, where his body was displayed under a silken canopy in the midst of barbaric rites, and the soldiers performed military evolutions around him. Another version says that Honoria was never given up by the Eastern court, and that Attila was killed by Idilco, one of his gorgeous barbarian wives, taken in marriage while negotiations were pending.

The profligate Emperor Valentinian had scarcely more than arrived at manhood when, in 455 A.D., he was slain by the Senator Maximus, who was then elected Emperor by the army. When, soon after, he compelled Eudoxia, the widow of Valentinian III., to become his wife, she, enraged at the indignity,

especially from one who had put her husband to death, threw herself upon the protection of Geiserich, that Vandal king who had wrested Africa from the Roman Empire. Geiserich with a large fleet entered the Tiber and advanced to Rome. Maximus, after reigning three months, was slain in a tumult, and Rome was surrendered and pillaged for fourteen days by the Moors and Vandals. The spoils included the gold table and the seven-branched candlesticks taken as trophies in the siege of Jerusalem. Eudoxia herself, with her two daughters and many thousand Romans, were carried off into Africa as slaves, to serve in the most menial offices. After a time she and her daughter Placidia were returned to Italy, though her daughter, Eudoxia, was retained as the wife of Geiserich's son, Hunneric.

Another civil war would have devastated the unfortunate country, if Avitus, one of Ætius' former lieutenants, and Maximus' general, now commander in Gaul, who was set up as Emperor, had not been dethroned and afterwards put to death. Majorian, who succeeded him, was a distinguished soldier under Ætius, and had been raised to the throne through the agency of the powerful Count Ricimer. It was said of Majorian that "he was gentle to his subjects, terrible to his enemies, and that he excelled in every virtue all his predecessors who had reigned over the Romans"; and it was also said of him that he equaled the spirit, ambition and tenacity of Rome's ancient heroes.

Majorian ruled from 457 to 461. He loved the people and sympathized with them in their sorrows and hardships, and, having studied the cause of the decline of Roman greatness, he sought to alleviate

the distress of the nation, especially in the provinces. He made laws, established the government, and in all his methods ranks with the best rulers of Italy.

While Majorian was working to restore the happiness and glory of Rome, he was obliged to meet Geiserich, still the irreconcilable foe of the Romans; and he soon saw that the people expected him to regain Africa. Instead of a stalwart army of Roman youths, however, he was dependent upon barbarian auxiliaries; and besides, like the Romans in the first Punic War, he had no navy. But he levied on the woods of the Apennines, the arsenals and manufactories of Ravenna and Misenum, and, together with the products of these, the resources of Gaul and Italy soon furnished him with three hundred galleys, besides transports and smaller vessels, with which he was able in a short time to sail into the harbor of Cartagena.

Anxious to see with his own eyes the condition of the Vandal environment, Majorian dyed his hair, and, passing himself off as an ambassador, visited Carthage. Geiserich, to his chagrin, afterwards discovered that he had entertained the Roman Emperor in person; but Majorian could not be made to accept terms from the now submissive Geiserich; and he would soon have had the whole of the Vandal race under his control, since Geiserich saw inevitable ruin staring him in the face, had not treason been working in his own camp. Some secret agents, envious of Majorian's success, surprised his fleet and sunk his ships in the bay of Carthage, destroying in a day the labor and toil of three years. Majorian was then obliged to agree to a truce and return to Italy to await events. But a conspiracy was formed, on his return,

to remove him from the throne, by those who had suffered under his reforms, instigated in the first place by Count Ricimer; and Majorian was compelled to abdicate. He died five days after in 461, a tomb being erected by a grateful posterity.

When Severus, Majorian's successor, who was raised to the throne direct from the ranks by Ricimer, died, Italy was entirely disorganized, and during an interregnum of six years Ricimer ruled, with Marcellinus and Ægidius in control of the governments of Dalmatia and Gaul respectively. The court of Constantinople then sent, in 467, Anthemius, the son-in-law of the former Emperor Marcian, to rule the West. Anthemius had shared the government of the East with Leo, and claimed that he was descended from a line of Emperors. He soon celebrated the marriage of his daughter with Count Ricimer by splendid ceremonies. He ruled well, but was weak and vacillating. Under him there were renewed efforts to conquer the Vandals.

The evil genius of Count Ricimer, however, again conspired to upset the government; and in 472 he brought forward Olybrius of the Anician family, and a lineal descendant of some of the Emperors. The latter had married the daughter of Valentinian III., Placidia, who had been restored with her mother Eudoxia to the Romans; but in reality Ricimer himself ruled under the title of Patrician, for forty days, until he died. He had been instrumental in setting up and removing almost every one of these evanescent petty rulers in order consecutively to hold the power himself; and he was styled the "King-Maker."

Olybrius ruled seven months, and when he died, Leo, the Emperor at Constantinople, after long delib-

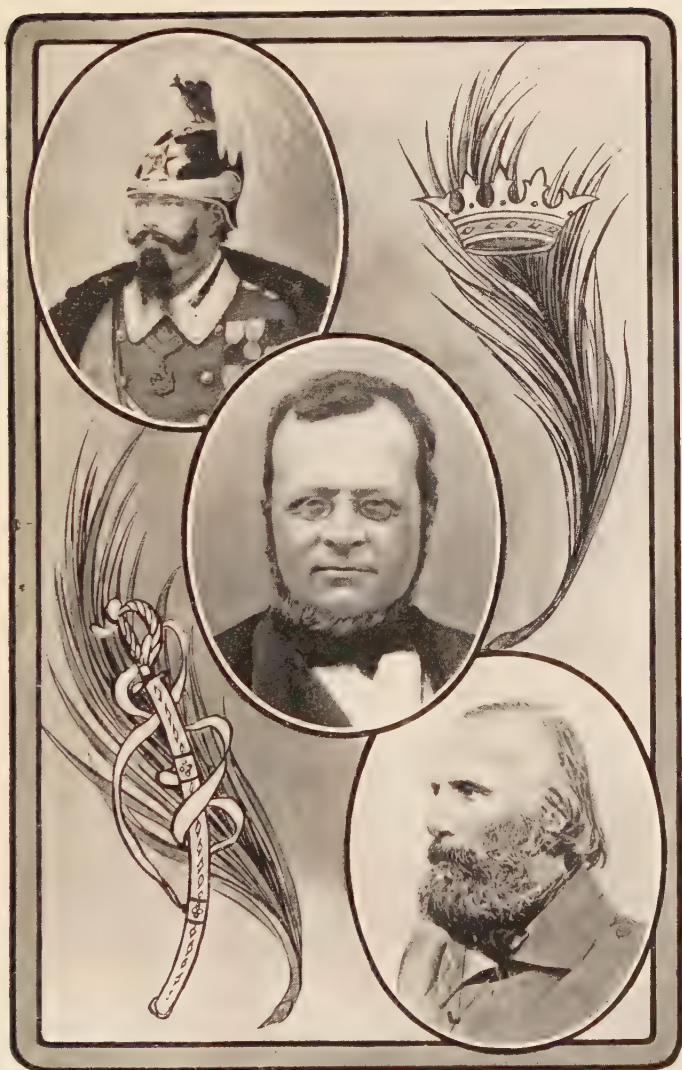
eration presented to the Senate, in 474, Julius Nepos, who was then governor of Dalmatia in place of Marcellinus. The former had married Leo's niece. But during an interval of several months, while the process of assuming the government was going on, an obscure soldier named Glycerius acted as Emperor. Notwithstanding that Nepos gave up all claims to that portion of the Empire already seized by the barbarians, after he had reigned a year he was surprised by a large warrior band under Orestes, the secretary of Attila, and, having escaped across the Adriatic, he lived five years in retirement in Dalmatia, after which he was assassinated by Glycerius, whom he had supplanted.

By the abdication of Nepos, Orestes attained sovereign power; but in his stead he set up, in 475, his son Augustulus as the Emperor of the West. Already in Spain, Gaul and Africa the barbarians had become dominant, and they now demanded one-third of Italy, so that Orestes soon saw that his son must either be the slave or the victim of his barbarian mercenaries. Accordingly Orestes with great spirit resisted this demand to dismember the realm of his son, until the barbarian warrior Odoacer revolted from his regency, and all the garrisons of Italy and the troops in Germany acknowledged the sway of the latter. At last in 476, Pavia, where Orestes had taken shelter, was obliged to yield, Orestes himself being slain.

The little Romulus Augustulus, now left helpless, implored the aid of Odoacer. In the space of twenty years, since the death of Valentinian III., nine Emperors had arisen and disappeared like a meteor in its course; and this last pretender, a youth only noted

for his beauty, was compelled to abdicate; but through the clemency of Odoacer he was placed in Lucullus' villa at Misenum, and allowed a generous annuity. Odoacer then sent the crown and robes of State of the West to Zeno, Emperor of the East, saying that one Emperor was enough for the two divisions. Desiring to rule Italy only as a military chief, Odoacer gained a formal decree from the Senate to abolish Imperial succession, and commenced his martial career under the title of King of Italy.

The great Roman Empire had been at its height in the time of Trajan. From that era until the end of Constantine's reign its decline was rapid; Theodosius the Great left it scarcely alive, and thus in the year 476 it fell to pieces.



MAKERS OF ITALY.

Victor Emanuel.

Cavour.

Garibaldi.

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PART II

CHAPTER I

COURSE OF HISTORY FROM THEODORICH TO CHARLEMAGNE.—ITALY'S EARLY KINGS.—THE OTTOS.

489—1002 A.D.

IT is thought that the seven vultures which Remus first espied signified the seven centuries previous to the founding of the Empire, while the twelve birds in the heavens which appeared to Romulus indicated the twelve centuries during which Rome existed in her glory and might. Perhaps also there was a significance in the last ruler of the Empire being called Romulus Augustulus, the combined names of the founder of Rome and of the first Emperor. It might have been a cynicism on the small beginning, wonderful growth and phenomenal decay of a great nation, since Rome had passed from the immaturity of childhood to the ripening of a noble manhood, and had then sunk into the decadence of a State which had passed its prime and outlived its usefulness.

As we have had reason to notice, in her early strife for glory Rome recognized no forces outside herself. By her the other nations were regarded as so many puppets, an element of strength or weakness, according as they administered to her growth. Even her heroes were only used to advance her interests, and every great statesman whose mighty deeds had redounded to Rome's glory was thrust aside as soon as he ceased to be a stepping-stone on which she could mount to further greatness. Her demigods caught

the spirit, and trod beneath their feet all who stood in the way of their ambition. "Mighty and all-powerful" were synonyms which crushed opposing influences, whether the words represented Marius or Sylla, Pompey or Cæsar, or the madmen who ruled as Emperors so many years after the downfall of the great State had commenced. The wars of Hannibal, instead of crushing the Roman people, brought out the arrogance and vainglory of a nation that could not be humbled even when abject at the great conqueror's feet; and nothing was able to destroy her until the poison of effeminacy, engendered by her successes, ate like a canker into her body politic, producing a race of pigmies in place of a nation of giants. Gibbon says that the decline of Rome was the natural and inevitable result of immoderate greatness.

The Roman Empire before its fall in 476 A.D. had become a prey to the numerous barbarian factors she had appropriated, each seizing for himself the part which pleased him best; and thus many kingdoms had risen out of her ashes. The Angles subjugated Britain and named it England; the Franks conquered Gaul and called it France; and the Burgundians absorbed the portion which afterwards became Burgundy. The Vandals and Suabians possessed Spain and extended their dominion over all the Roman provinces in Africa, holding them until Justinian's time; Panonia became Hungary, and "Italy alone kept her glorious name." Thus Rome, which had excelled all nations in literature and the fine arts, and had become the model for great and warlike deeds, she, the world-conquering portion of the globe, who by the force of her genius had dispelled mental darkness from the world, was at last the most subjugated. The very spoils

she had taken from the vanquished nations helped to precipitate her ruin by their demoralizing influence, and misfortune thickened in proportion to her preceding prosperity.

There were, however, native forces outside of Rome that still held something of pristine virtue, and this was Italy's chance. Yet the years of servitude and centuries of chaos had been so tremendous in their influence that the strength of factions warring against their own interests could not be centralized in a moment.

Italy was too great a prize to be left long in the undisputed possession of the weaklings who called themselves rulers; and the chieftain Odoacer, as has been noticed, having snatched it from their hands, governed it for a while as a barbarian king.

North of the Black Sea, however, there was a powerful nation known as the Ostrogoths, or Eastgoths, whose king was Theodorich. Under him in 489 the Eastgoths marched seven hundred miles over the Alps into the plains of northern Italy; and in 493 A.D. forced the intrepid Odoacer to surrender, after he had held out bravely behind the strongholds of Ravenna for three years. Theodorich afterwards, in violation of an agreement to share the rule with Odoacer, put the latter to death. Zeno, the sovereign of the Eastern Empire, jealous of Theodorich's growing power, favored the victor, thinking that if the latter could absorb the Western kingdom he should not only be delivered from a dangerous rival, but that all complications with reference to Italy would thus be settled.

Considering the circumstances surrounding Theodorich the Great and the times in which he lived, his reputation for culture and wisdom is not unwarranted.

He was a prince of barbarian origin, but while still a child was educated in Constantinople as a hostage; and there he had acquired all the arts of civilized life. From the first he showed great executive ability in uniting Gothic and Italian elements so that they would do the best service for all. With this in view, he apportioned one-third of the soil of Italy to his Gothic soldiers, leaving the larger portion to the Italians; and in this way he succeeded in Romanizing his subjects instead of attempting, as other conquerors before him had done, to nationalize the subjugated.

Theodorich also built up the State by other adroit and diplomatic measures, and among his discreet alliances with other surrounding nations was one with the great Frank, Clovis; and although he himself could never learn to write, he established communication through secretaries with all the Gothic rulers throughout Europe. In order to better protect his kingdom, he kept up an army so well drilled that he could call into the field two hundred thousand warriors at an hour's notice. Theodorich endeavored in every way to bring about the enlightenment of Italy; and these efforts, together with his great energy and sagacity, rendered his reign an era of unparalleled peace and prosperity.

But in spite of his ability as a ruler, his vigor, tolerance and humanity, his love for literature, science and the fine arts, Theodorich exhibited many defects due to his barbarian descent. This was seen in the case of his favorites, the philosophers Boethius and Symmachus, whom he caused to be cruelly put to death without a trial, because he suspected them of plotting with Justinian to overthrow his Arian religion. When, however, he became satisfied of their innocence,

remorse for the deed preyed upon his mind and shortened his life, though for six years longer he dragged out a melancholy existence, dying in gloom in 526 A.D. at the age of seventy-four. His ashes were scattered to the wind by the Catholics, who regarded him as a heretic on account of his Arian doctrine.

During the last few years of Theodorich's reign Justinian was Emperor at Constantinople. Although of uncivilized stock he was the most famous of all the Eastern Emperors, his reign being filled with great events at home and abroad, in peace and in war. As a legislator and codifier of Roman law his name is most distinguished; many of the codes he systematized being the same which Julius Cæsar had commenced to classify.

Justinian sent his great general Belisarius to take Sicily, and the latter, with Narses, afterwards succeeded in extinguishing the race of Ostrogoths, after a desperate resistance on their part, thus reconquering for Justinian a great part of the Western Empire.

Belisarius also subdued Gelimar, the last King of the Vandals in Africa. He guaranteed him his freedom as the price of surrender. Nevertheless he led the old Vandal warrior with a silver chain to Byzantium, where he forced him to walk in a triumphal procession, insulted and ridiculed by the people. The dignity and strength of the aged Vandal chief, however, so impressed Emperor Justinian that he released him, giving him large estates outside the Byzantine capital, besides granting homes to his retinue and educating the maidens of his suite. But five thousand of Gelimar's squadrons were sent with Justinian's soldiers to fight the Parthians; and the nation which at one time had numbered six hundred thousand fol-

lowers was annihilated. Thus the Vandal race disappeared from history. But scientists claim that they discover a remnant among the swarthy Moors of Africa, with a fair complexion and flaxen hair, whom they trace as descendants of the Vandals.

Justinian was the last efficient Byzantine Emperor. He died in 565 A.D., and Italy soon after, during the sixth, seventh and eighth centuries, came under the rule of the Exarchs, Narses being the first to govern as such. There were seventeen Exarchs in all, who made the lives of the people most miserable. As a civic officer, the Exarch was a kind of a prefect or viceroy, and as an ecclesiastic his duties were varied.

Narses ruled Italy for fifteen years as Exarch at Ravenna, and was a very important historical character of the sixth century. But he excited the jealousy of Justin II., successor of Justinian, who removed him. Sophia, the wife of Justin II., is said to have sent Narses insulting messages together with a golden distaff, bidding him spin wool in the apartment of the women, since he had none of the great qualities of manhood. Narses retorted that he would spin her a thread the length of which should be the limit of her life. He then summoned the Lombards to take possession of the land, hoping that his services would be needed to repel these foreign invaders.

The Lombards whom Narses enlisted were a fierce nation of heathen who dwelt in Hungary, and for nearly two hundred years, from 570 to 744, kept the whole Italian nation in a ferment. The ferocious Lombard warrior, Alboin, soon arrived in northern Italy with his vast hordes, and in the course of time a large portion of the Italian peninsula was wrested by them from the Eastern Empire. The Lombard

duchies, that portion which was afterwards called the Southern Regno, were soon developed. These formed the "Theme of Lombardy," finally including in its boundaries Gæta, Naples, the islands of Sicily and Sardinia, and the extremities of Calabria, the most southern portion of Italy, which was a little later held by the Byzantine Greeks.

Alboin assumed the title of King of the Lombards and made his captains counts and dukes over provinces which became his fiefs; but he continued to be a barbarian, amusing himself in his carousals like any savage, until finally he was murdered in 573 by his wife Rosamund, daughter of Kunimund, Queen of the Gepidæ, because in a drunken revel he forced her to drink from her father's skull.

There were thirty-two Lombard kings in all. Autharis, the most celebrated of these, was distinguished for valor and great deeds. He was successful in warding off three eruptions of the Gauls, who were trying to force their way into the plains of northern Italy. Rotharis and Grimoald were law-makers, the latter a reformer of his predecessors' codes. Luitprand conquered Ravenna and Aistolphus tried to get possession of the power at Rome, but was outwitted by Pepin the Short. Desiderius was the last King of the Lombards and was subdued by Charlemagne. The rest of the Lombard rulers were scarcely more than figureheads.

Pavia was the capital of the Lombard kingdom, and during the reign of Autharis Gregory the Great was Universal Bishop and the only real ruler of Rome during the troublous times between 590 and 604. Gregory was of aristocratic family, and, after being Senator and governor, he had, when the Lombards

arrived, been promoted to the office of prætor. Besides fulfilling his duties with dignity and pomp, he appropriated a large income to the needs of the State. After coming into the possession of great wealth through the death of his father, he became a monk of St. Bernard and dedicated the whole of his property to the establishment of charitable institutions. Thus the power of the Church commenced, not at first because the officers of Christ sought lands and wealth for their own uses, but because they really were seeking to be ministers of mercy to the suffering and needy. Men of means entered the monasteries, and since all that they had before owned was now given to the Church, that body became very rich, and, wealth being power, more powerful than the State itself. Six monasteries in Sicily were of Gregory's founding, and he himself lived in one of his own asylums, which had once been his estate on the Cælian Hill. Here he gave up his time to the care of the sick and to the study of the Scriptures, subsisting all the while on the meanest diet. It was at this time that his mother, who lived in an adjacent convent, used to bring him pulse in a massive silver dish, the last relic of their former great prosperity. One day, however, touched by the pitiable condition of a shipwrecked sailor, he presented the poor wayfarer with this heirloom.

It was Gregory the Great who commenced the conversion of the Britons to Christianity. Some English slave children in the market in Rome attracted his attention; and, on account of their fair skins and lovely faces, he called them angels or engels, and some think the word Angles or English came from this incident; and there are others who say he punned on the letters of the word Angles, and said that they would be little

“Engels” if they could be converted to Christianity. The thought of their conversion so occupied his mind that he obtained a dispensation to preach the Gospel to the Anglo-Saxons in England; but when the people saw him starting out for that field they raised such a clamour at the thought of losing him, that he had to turn back; and it was soon after this, in 590, that he was chosen Pope, then called Universal Bishop. It was Gregory's wish that “he might be unknown in this life and glorious only in the next.” Accordingly, to escape this honor conferred upon him, he hid in a basket and was transported from the city as merchandise, his retreat being revealed, it is said, by a celestial light. Under him, forty missionaries were sent out to England, and in less than ten years ten thousand of the Anglo-Saxons were baptized.

Just before this a pestilence fell on Rome, and Gregory the Great made the people form seven great processions, consisting of all ages and of every condition in life, not excluding women and children. All marched in this singular cortége, singing litanies and entreating that the dire disease might be stayed; and when the plague ceased Gregory thought that he beheld an angel standing on Hadrian's tomb. Accordingly out of gratitude he had a chapel built on its summit and dedicated it to the Lord, calling it St. Angelo. From that time the whole magnificent round structure has been called the Castle of St. Angelo.

After the death of the Lombard Autharis, Theolinda, his beautiful queen, whom he had won romantically by going in quest of her himself, exerted so powerful an influence for Pope Gregory, that this, together with Gregory the Great's justice and wisdom, gained for the Papal office such prestige that for the

first time, as has been already noticed, it was exalted over temporal sovereignty.

In the course of the next sixty years Italy was governed by rulers so insignificant in character that the most of their names have not been handed down. Ravenna, Naples and Genoa, like Rome and Venice, were still under the protection of the great Byzantine Empire; but, since all the fighting men had to be employed against the ravages of the Saracens, there was not sufficient force to keep down the Lombards in the North, until at last Pope Gregory III. called to his aid the great Frankish general, Charles Martel, who had driven back the Saracens on the 3d of October, 932, at the Battle of Tours, and had been rewarded for his valor by receiving Aquitania as a gift. Although Charles Martel did little for the Church, Aquitania was divided between his two sons; and the elder, Pepin, was afterwards made Patriarch of Rome by Pope Stephen as a reward for endowing the Church with lands taken from the Lombard ruler Aistolphus. Pepin soon became King of the Franks and was the first of the Carlovingian line. He is known in history as Pepin the Short.

Charlemagne, son of Pepin, broke up the Lombard kingdom, which had lasted two hundred years, when at Pavia, in 773, he overcame Desiderius, the last Lombard ruler; and ever afterwards he was recognized as King of the Franks and Lombards.

A dramatic scene in the old Church of St. Peter's at Rome in reality opens the page of history for New Italy. Pope Leo III. had been imprisoned in a monastery by the Duke of Spoleto, and Charlemagne, to whom he had fled for aid, sent him back to Rome before the Christmas of 800 A.D. Having assumed

the garb of a Patrician, Charlemagne appeared in the Cathedral of St. Peter's. While he was kneeling in prayer Pope Leo stepped forward and placed upon his head the crown of the Roman Empire, the great dome resounding with the peoples' acclamation: "Long life and victory to Charles, crowned of God, the great peace-giving Emperor of the Romans." The Western Empire then breathed again; and from that date a new era opened for Europe. As a reward for the gift, Charlemagne gave to the Church Spoleto, the nucleus of what was later the Papal States; and the Popes were temporal sovereigns in Italy through the whole of the Carlovingian dynasty; for, although Charlemagne by his great statesmanship, during a reign of forty years, held Italy as well as France, a part of Spain, Germany and Hungary together, and his dominion was washed by the British Channel, the North, Baltic and Mediterranean seas and the Atlantic Ocean, he rarely resided in Rome, and his successors were mere figureheads. Accordingly the great network of government he had held securely together soon fell to pieces. Gibbon says that of all the princes who received the appellation of the "Great," Charlemagne is the only one in whose favor the title has been indissolubly blended with the name.

Louis the Pious, Charlemagne's son, who succeeded him by the terms of the Treaty at Verdun in 843, was followed, in the government of Italy, by his son Lothair. The kingdoms of Germany and France were at this time separated from each other, the former still adhering in a sense to Italy. In Lothair's reign the Saracens made such inroads, that among the defences against them the Vatican was for the first time surrounded by walls. Louis II. succeeded

Lothair and on his death the throne was disputed by his uncles and cousins. Gibbon says: "The dregs of the Carlovingian race no longer exhibited any symptoms of virtue or power, and the ridiculous epithets of the 'bard,' the 'fat,' the 'stammerer,' and the 'simple,' distinguished the tame and uniform features of a crowd of kings, alike deserving of oblivion." Charles the Fat was the last Emperor of his family, he having been deposed in a Diet on account of incapacity.

The old Lombard dukedoms were now reduced to Tuscany, Ivrea, Friuli, Susa, and Spoleto. Tuscany was the most prosperous; but the quarrels of these dukes after the fall of the Carlovingian line were fierce and never-ending. After this, those who could appear at the gates of Rome with the largest armies were crowned Emperors in the Vatican, but usually they were only Kings of Italy. There were Lambert and Berengarius and the able Arnulf, descended from Charlemagne in an illegitimate line, and Louis of Provence, besides other pretenders. While Berengarius was fighting the Saxons and Hungarians, he was obliged to leave affairs at home to the nobles and monks whom he authorized to fortify their residences in order to better secure themselves from assault. In this way Italy first became covered with castles and fortresses, which was the beginning of the peninsula being cut up into isolated states having their own militia, officers and magistrates. Thus divided between "feudal nobles and hereditary ecclesiastics," all national feeling in Italy was stifled.

Anarchy and misery are the most prominent features of that long space of time between the death of Charlemagne and the descent of Otto the Great into Italy

in 951; and during the tenth century the civil and religious functions were united and became hereditary in the family of the Counts of Tusculum.

After the death of Formosus, who crowned Arnulf, the Popes followed each other in quick succession, until eleven had passed away, some not reigning ten months, and others not even as many days. During the last half of the tenth century two very depraved women decided the politics of the times to a great degree, setting up Popes and putting them down at will. These women were Theodora, called the Senatrix, and her daughter Marozia, the mother of Alberich, who was the son of her first husband Alberich of Spoleto.

Alberich was one of the best rulers Rome ever knew, and for twenty years succeeded in bringing order and respectability into the society of Italy. His government was republican, and he was known as "*Princeps atque omnium Romanorum Senator*"; the foundation of his power being the right of the Roman people to choose their own ruler in spite of any who might call themselves Emperor. He had gained the power by shutting up his infamous mother Marozia in prison; but at the same time, Hugh of Provence, his stepfather, continued King of Italy outside of Rome; until driven to desperation by the many conspiracies against him he gave up the power, appointing his son king at Milan, as Lothair II. The latter, after his father's death, became a victim of Berengarius II., who himself was declared King of Italy.

Thus matters stood when in the year 951 Otto of Saxony, known as Otto the Great, invaded Italy and conquered the kingdom. He compelled Berengarius II. to surrender, and, after imprisoning him in the

Castle of Bamberg in Germany, he liberated and married Adelaide, the charming wife of Lothair, whom Berengarius had imprisoned in an old castle because she refused to espouse his son. The coronation of Otto in 962 was considered a revival of the old Empire; for up to this time, ever since Charlemagne, the Italian rulers had only been kings of a part of Italy with a meaningless title.

Otto the Great's life henceforth was spent in traveling back and forth from Germany to Italy settling disputes, since Berengarius II. and Alberich's son Octavian, who was Pope John XII., forgot all their pledges and kept rising over and over again in rebellion. During the last six years of Otto's occupancy of Italy he deposed Pope John XII., who lacked all the good qualities of his father, Alberich. He was criticised as an inefficient temporal ruler and accused as Pope of being a perjurer, murderer and plunderer of the Church. Otto had shown his lack of confidence in Roman sincerity as far back as the time when he was crowned by Pope John XII., and had told his sword-bearer to watch, saying: "While I am praying in St. Peter's keep your sword close to my head, since when we reach Monte Mario you will have time to pray as much as you like."

Otto the Great at last died in Rome in 983, leaving a record for great deeds and a reputation for valor and wisdom which posterity has honored. In view of a plan to unite the Eastern and Western Empires, he had brought about the marriage of his son, Otto II., with Theophania, the daughter of the Greek Byzantine Emperor at Constantinople.

Otto II. spent but little of his short reign in Italy, and during the minority of his son, Otto III., the

Romans set up a municipal government under a man named Crescentius, a citizen of great wealth and noble family, descended from Theodora and Pope John X.; but Crescentius failed because he had none of the well-defined principles of Alberich.

Otto III., after having passed a sentence of banishment against Crescentius, was crowned by Gregory V., his own appointed Pope, in 996 A.D.; but when Otto went back to Germany Crescentius rose again, and Otto, returning, recaptured the rebel in the Castle of St. Angelo, afterwards sometimes called the Tower of Crescentius. Notwithstanding that the latter had surrendered on condition of his life being spared, Otto had him beheaded with twelve of his companions.

Since the days of Nicholas I., under Louis the Pious, there had never been such a vigorous assertion of Papal rights as at this epoch. It is even thought that Gerbert, Otto III.'s old tutor, whom he had made Sylvester II., was the first to agitate the subject of pilgrimages to the holy places of the East, the outcome of which was the Crusades. Under Sylvester II.'s influence Otto III. spent his time in fasting and prayer and pilgrimages, devoting most of his means to churches and monasteries and neglecting the affairs of the world to such an extent that he was finally compelled by the Crescentian party to leave the city. Up to this time he had intended to make Italy his home, having built in Rome a splendid palace, where he lived in the Byzantine style.

When Otto was about to return from a banishment of some years, he was attacked with a deadly Italian fever and died in the winter of 1002 A.D., at the early age of twenty-two. It is claimed by some that he was poisoned by Stephanie, the wife of Crescentius.

Thus Otto the Great's plan of a Holy Roman German Byzantine Empire fell to pieces at the death of his grandson. The government of Rome, though subject to the Pope for a time, resembled that set up by Crescentius; but this declined under the corrupt rulers of the great House of Tusculum.

CHAPTER II

BEGINNING OF THE ITALIAN REPUBLICS.—THE FRANCONIAN KINGS AS EMPERORS.—THE NORMAN CONQUEST.—GUELPHS AND Ghibellines.—HILDEBRAND.—THE HOHENSTAUFEN.—FREDERICK BARBAROSSA.—THE LOMBARD LEAGUE.

1002—1190 A.D.

AFTER the fall of the Carlovingian line, the quarrels among the petty dukes who aspired to be Kings of Italy, and the inroads of Hungarians and other barbarian nations, had caused the people to gather in the cities for mutual defence. The feudal nobles soon retired to fortified heights, and the cities, partially rid of their tyranny, increased in importance and at a redoubled rate. Naples, Amalfi, Pisa and Venice had thus gained a considerable degree of independence outside of the Lombard rule; and now, if all the cities had united, they could have formed a great and vigorous nation. As it was, in Otto the Great's reign the powerful Italian kingdom founded by the early Lombards ceased to exist; and with its subversion the only hope of a united Italy vanished. A little later, however, the most brilliant period of Lombard's independent history came about with the fall of the dukedoms and rise of the Commune.

The government in these Lombard cities, which, in the eleventh century became embryo republics, was carried on by two consuls chosen by the people, each of the rising commonwealths having two councils. The more general of these carried out the measures of the

city government, and the other, which was called the Great Council or Senate, discussed all the new decrees. The highest power, however, was centered in the people themselves. When special measures were to be considered the big bell tolled, calling all the citizens to a general Council or Parliament in the city square.

After Otto III.'s death the Lombard nobles, assisted by Pavia, tried to resuscitate the defunct State by electing Arduin Magnus of Ivrea, while Milan chose Henry of Bavaria, afterwards Henry II. Thus the long-continued contest began which put an end to kings in Italy up to the time of Victor Emanuel II., the Pavian party sustaining Arduin until he withdrew and Henry II. was chosen. The latter died in 1024, and Conrad II., who succeeded him, confined his attention to the conquest of Burgundy, leaving the government of Italy to the nobles and bishops.

It was at this time that Milan started out on that brilliant career for which she has ever since been distinguished. Her ascendancy over the burghs of Lombardy commenced when Heribert, the archbishop, organized the population into an independent community. It was he who originated the Carroccio, a huge car drawn by oxen, bearing the standard of the burgh and carrying an altar on which the Crucifixion was portrayed and the Host uplifted. This formed a rallying point in battle and played an important rôle in the warfare between the Italian cities in the Middle Ages, the loss of the Carroccio being an indication of most crushing defeat.

Conrad II., having heard that Heribert was assuming too much authority, came to the rescue of the lesser nobles; and although as archbishop he had invited the king to Italy and crowned him with the Iron

Crown of Lombardy, Conrad II. deposed and imprisoned Heribert. Conrad died soon after returning to Italy, and Henry III., his successor, set in motion far-reaching reforms in Rome, where scandalous anarchy reigned under an utterly demoralized priesthood. After settling up the quarrels of ten Popes, who had one after the other disgraced the Papacy, one of the incumbents being a boy of only ten years, Conrad placed Leo IX. in the Papal Chair.

At this time three hundred Norman knights had been enlisted by the Greek Byzantine Emperor to help drive the Saracens out of Sicily. After fierce disputes among themselves about the distribution of the spoils, these knights, captivated with the climate of southern Italy, and delighted with the soil, united under Robert Guiscard for the purpose of seizing the whole southern Regno for themselves. At the Battle of Civitella, in 1053, the Papal party was defeated and Pope Leo IX. taken prisoner; but, respecting his sanctity, the Normans made concessions, agreeing to accept as fiefs of the Holy See Apulia, Calabria, and Sicily, where Henry II. had already given them leave to settle. This was a valuable stepping-stone to the future advancement of the Papacy; but it was the cause of many disturbances in Italy afterwards, since the power gained in this way by Robert Guiscard, and later by his brother, the great Count Roger, was the means of their family finally acquiring all Sicily; for after thirty years, the Normans wrested the whole island from the Saracens, and Roger at his death bequeathed to his son of the same name Calabria and Sicily, a kingdom which afterwards became the most flourishing in Europe.

Up to 1130 the Apulian Duchy was held as a duke-

dom by the Hauteville family, the descendants of Robert Guiscard; but at this date Apulia and Calabria, included in the Kingdom of Naples, were united with Sicily into what was called the "Two Sicilies," and Count Roger II. obtaining the crown of the United Kingdom by Papal Investiture, Naples became the capital. This kingdom assumed and developed a more feudal character than the governments of the rest of Italy, and for six hundred years, with few intermissions, this Regno continued as a fief of the Holy See. The Norman conquest of the Two Sicilies forms a most romantic episode in mediæval Italian history.

The Greek maritime cities, Naples, Gæta and Amalfi, which had flourished earlier, increasing their trade in the East by monopolizing the Mediterranean, were crippled by the Normans, and in time gave place to Genoa, Pisa and Venice. These prosperous cities also carried on domestic manufactures and all were liberty-loving and independent. The crusades, which commenced in 1099 under Urban II., greatly enriched these maritime towns, and it was then that Pisa, at the climax of her glory and splendor, built her famous Cathedral, Baptistery, and Leaning Tower.

An assembly of one hundred and thirty bishops was called together by Pope Nicholas II. in 1060 to decide upon the election of the Pope by the cardinals, and after this time the Pope was recognized as the head of all the Latin churches in the West. Henceforth the Papacy was every priest's goal, and persons of every rank and of every degree of morality were placed in the Pontifical Chair.

For some years before Henry III.'s death the Church of Rome had been under the guidance of Archbishop Hildebrand. The ability of this future

great prelate, while he was still an unknown monk in Tuscany, was directed to the aggrandizement of the Church. He conceived in the solitude of his cloister a plan for subjugating the world to Papal power. A married priest was a criminal in his eyes; and he also determined to stop the practice of simony. These were the two great causes of weakness in the Church; for marriage placed the priest on the same footing as other men, and the barter of office divested the clergy of the sacredness of their character. Up to this time the Pope had really been only a Universal Bishop, but now he received the name of Pope as a specific title, and was declared to be God's vice-gerent on earth, and a being too holy to sin. The Pope's influence soon became so arbitrary that no king could keep his throne without the consent of the Pontiff; and finally "inauguration by the hand of His Holiness became essential to a title to the crown." This was called the "Right of Investiture."

In the year 1073, after having refused the office a number of times, Hildebrand was appointed Pope as Gregory VII. His talents were of the highest order and his mind was deep and far-reaching. He and Henry IV. soon came into collision on the subject of the "Right of Investiture." Henry IV. denounced the Pope, and the latter retaliated by excommunicating the king, a Council being called by the princes to elect another ruler. It was then that Henry IV. crossed the Alps, covered deep in ice and snow, to beg the angry Papal potentate to grant him pardon. Henry's deep humiliation at Canossa, the castle of the great Countess Mathilda of Tuscany, burned itself into the heart of the world for all time.

Mathilda was the daughter of that Countess Beatrice

whom Henry III., jealous of the united power established by her marriage with Godfrey of Lorraine, had kept in prison until his own death. Mathilda herself became the wife of Godfrey's son, her stepbrother. Both she and her mother from the first had been enthusiastic followers of the "Cluny régime," which was Hildebrand's policy. This had found expression in the cloisters at Cluny in what was called the "Treuga Dei" (The Truce of God), according to which all feuds in battle were forbidden from Wednesday evening until Monday morning. This had first been put in practice in the time of Henry III. During the long conflict which followed, the Popes were never without shelter from violence so long as they could reach the protection of the Tuscan frontier; for the fiefs of the great Countess Mathilda stretched from Mantua across Lombardy, passed the Apennines, included the Tuscan plains and embraced a portion of the Duchy of Spoleto.

After Henry IV. had waited three days and three nights in the frost and snow outside in the court of Countess Mathilda's great castle, Gregory VII. absolved him, but in terms so degrading that the king returned to Germany to wait for a chance to reopen hostilities. At last, having fought the Pope intermittently for three years, this much injured sovereign routed Gregory's forces, supplied by the Countess Mathilda, and was crowned Emperor by Guibert, Archbishop of Ravenna, whom he had himself appointed Pope as Clement III.

Henry, however, was obliged to withdraw from Rome when Robert Guiscard's army returned from the East and entered the city to devastate, destroy and pillage. Gregory died in 1085 during a voluntary banishment among the Normans, uttering anathemas

against Henry with his last breath, and saying: "I have loved justice and hated iniquity, therefore I die in exile." After twenty years of fierce fighting with Gregory VII.'s successors, Henry IV. was driven out of Italy and dethroned by his son, Henry V., dying in 1106 in poverty and exile.

In 1122, after a further struggle of fifteen years, there was a compromise called "The Concordat of Worms," made between Henry V. and the Papal powers. The Pope ostensibly resigned the temporal and the Emperor really, the spiritual privileges of Investiture; but the advantage was left with the Papal party; for the Pope became independent of the Emperor, while the Emperor's crown for several centuries came from the hand of the Pope. Countess Mathilda, when she died in 1115, left the Church all her vast possessions; and from this time on, owing to her action, the Popes were elected by a Roman Council. Consequently the Holy See remained in the hands of the Italians, and became the great glory of the nation.

During the three-quarters of a century that the struggle over Papal Investiture had been going on, Italy had not been standing still. The most conspicuous cities of northern and central Italy, Milan, Venice, Genoa, Bologna, Siena, and Perugia, had become flourishing republics, and the old feudal nobility was gradually passing away. This is said to have been the age of real autonomy. Popes and Emperors who needed the assistance of a city had to seek it from the consuls, and thus the office came to resemble the presidency of a commonwealth. A great council of privileged burghers, which for a time formed the aristocracy of the town, stood between the Parliament

and the consuls, while the "Commune" included the entire body politic—bishops, consuls, oligarchy, handcraftsmen and the poor.

No sooner had the compromise of Investiture been concluded than the commonwealths turned their arms against each other, concordant action for a national end being impossible for many centuries. Pisa sought to destroy Amalfi; Genoa and Florence attacked Pisa, and Venice fought Genoa, while Vérona absorbed Padua, Treviso, etc.; but Milan all the while was the great center of the republican cities of northern Italy, and it was she who soon engulfed the lesser towns of Lombardy.

As the new republics increased in importance they needed more territory. This they wrested from the nobles, who in the course of a century were forced to leave their castles and live in towns. They proved bad neighbors, and engendered such strife among the peaceable burghers that the war against the castles was changed to a war against the palaces. In turn the fortified residences defied the consuls; and this was the way the "Age of the Despots" commenced and the end of the republics came about.

These turbulent forces produced a sympathetic revolution in Rome led by Arnold de Brescia, the "Patriarch of Pontifical Heretics," as he has been called, and the forerunner of all reformers. After having been exiled in 1139 on account of his bold censure of the clergy, he returned for the purpose of urging reforms in the government of Rome. This resulted in the proclaiming Rome a republic, with a civil system much like that of the republican cities of Lombardy. The Popes as they succeeded each other wrote to Conrad III. to come down and quell the disturb-

ances; but the king was too much occupied to interfere or to seek the sovereignty of Rome, and accordingly was never crowned as Emperor.

It was in the time of the Saxon, Lothair I., Conrad's predecessor, that the war between the Guelphs and Ghibellines commenced, the former being the Church party and the latter the Emperor's faction. The Guelphs were named from Welf of Bavaria, descended from the old Welf, whose daughter was the wife of Louis the Pious; and the Ghibellines from Waibling, a castle of the original Hohenstaufen near Mount Staufen. The different factions were distinguishable by different devices, the Ghibellines wearing the feather on their hats on one side, the Guelphs on the other, the Ghibellines cutting their meat crosswise, the Guelphs straight, etc. In this way crimes were often detected, one man being prosecuted on account of the way he sliced his garlic.

In Conrad's time the excitement increased in violence, and the war-cries "Guelph" and "Ghibelline" were first used.

Frederick Barbarossa, the successor of Conrad III., was first called down into Italy in the interest of the town of Lodi, which was being oppressed by Milan. The Guelph party was now led by Milan and the Emperor's faction by Pavia; and, after a Diet held at Roncaglia near Piacenza, Barbarossa proceeded to destroy Asti, Chieri, Tunis and Tortona, because Pavia and the Marquis of Montferrat brought accusations against them. Barbarossa was thereupon presented with the Iron Crown of Lombardy at Pavia; and, though Milan had refused shelter and subsistence to his army, he was obliged, on account of the weakness of his forces, to temporarily ignore the slight.

He now went on to Rome and, scorning the overtures of the new republic, he entered the Leonine City on the south side of the Tiber; and, calling back the exiled Pope Hadrian IV., he was crowned by him. In order, however, to effect this he was obliged to hand over to Pope Hadrian, Arnold de Brescia, who was burned alive in 1155 in the Piazza del Popolo. The Roman republic never recovered from that martyr's death, and it soon fell to pieces.

Barbarossa's and Hadrian's quarrels then began, first about the provinces which Mathilda of Tuscany had given to the Church, and afterwards because Hadrian had confirmed William the Norman in his claim to the territory which Leo IX. had made over to the Normans as fiefs to the Emperor. Barbarossa even attempted to appropriate these southern provinces, but was driven back to Germany by the burning heat.

In 1158 Barbarossa returned to Italy and spent three years in trying to force Milan to yield. Year after year he ravaged her lands, taxed her people unmercifully and appointed judges called Podesta, who harassed the inhabitants by their arbitrary proceedings. At last he besieged the city for nearly a year; and in 1161, having ordered all the inhabitants, even those sick unto death, to leave the town, he gave up the city to unlimited plunder, and after her total destruction he declared that the name of Milan should be blotted out.

As soon as Barbarossa returned to Germany a league was formed against him by the citizens of northeastern Italy, Verona, Vincenza Padua, Treviso, and Venice, and in 1163, when he, with a brilliant staff of German knights again crossed the Alps, these

towns refused to join his standard. Alexander III., in the meantime, had been elected on the side of the League, and an anti-Pope was set up by Barbarossa. Bergamo, Brescia, Mantua and Ferrara united with the first League and, receiving the addition of Milan, Lodi, Piacenza, Parma, Modena and Bologna, constituted the famous Lombard League. Afterwards Novara, Vercelli, Como and Asti joined it, and between the Alps and the Apennines only Pavia and Montferrat remained on the Imperialist side. Then Barbarossa fled for his life across the Mont Cenis, his army having wasted away from pestilence; and it was six years before he again ventured to set foot in Italy.

In 1168, during the Emperor's absence, the town of Alessandria had been built to check the power of Pavia and Montferrat. It was named after Alexander III., the enemy of Barbarossa. Ravenna, Rimini, Imola and Forlì now joined the League, which was afterwards called "The Society of Venice, Lombardy, The March, Romagna and Alessandria."

Early in 1176 Barbarossa once more went down into Italy with his army, to again take up the fight against the Lombard cities. Alessandria with its mud walls, which the Emperor had contemptuously declared were made of straw, stopped his progress, and he besieged it. But a force of the League already assembled at Modena obliged him to desist; and a small army met his troops on the plains of Legnano about fifteen miles from Milan. Here Barbarossa was so badly beaten that the battle-field was covered with his dead. The Emperor himself disappeared altogether; but three days after the battle he entered Pavia and opened negotiations with Pope Alexander.

"For twenty-two years Barbarossa had been strug-

gling against the independence of Lombardy, and with seven different armies had devastated her plains, exercising every degree of cruelty upon her inhabitants; but the fatal Battle of Legnano left him powerless;" and in 1183, at the end of a truce of six years, the independence of Lombardy was guaranteed. At this time the united cities of the League were so powerful that they might have made themselves a great and prosperous nation had they been in accord with one another.

CHAPTER III

HENRY VI.—FREDERICK II.—INNOCENT III.—BRANCA-
LEONE.—MANFRED.—CHARLES OF ANJOU.

1190—1280 A.D.

WHEN the news reached Europe that the Infidels had taken Jerusalem, Frederick Barbarossa immediately set out on the third crusade; but he was seized with a stroke of apoplexy while crossing the little river Calycadmis in Syria and drowned.

Pope Innocent III., unwilling to have the southern part of Italy absorbed by Germany, opposed the nuptials of Henry VI., Barbarossa's son, with Constance, heir to the Two Sicilies; but in spite of this, after the death of Barbarossa and the decease of William II., the grandson of Roger II. and father of Constance, Henry VI. in 1190 inherited the vast power of both.

Henry VI. proved to be a merciless monarch, and his reign was soon cut short, it is thought, by poison. His wife Constance also died, leaving a little son four years of age, who, after the temporary sovereignty of his uncle, Philip, was crowned as Frederick II., sole heir of Swabia and Sicily. The child, before his mother's death, had been made a ward of Pope Innocent III.

Meanwhile the Guelph and Ghibelline wars grew more and more bitter both in Italy and in Germany, the nobles defending themselves in their fortresses on the heights. In the recesses of these strongholds there was a donjon, or keep, where, in the last extremity, the lord of the castle retired with his family, friends

and followers, and day and night armed men kept guard on the walls or in a watch-tower outside. We gather from the vine-covered ruins of these fastnesses, overlooking the fertile plains of Italy, that, though picturesque as relics, as homes they were dismal as prisons; and except for the romances of every-day existence these lords and ladies must have been deprived of all the attractions which at present make the dwellings of Italy charming.

In the cities political quarrels were often mixed up with family disputes. This was the case in Florence, where from 1115, the year that Countess Mathilda died, up to 1215, there had been peace. At this time a feud broke out between the Buondelmonti and the Uberti families. The representative of the Buondelmonti, a young man of fashion and gentility, was engaged to a daughter of the Uberti; but he deserted her for another fairer damsel, and one gala day her friends, indignant at the insult, murdered the youth in the public square of the city. All Florence interested itself in this fatal quarrel, the Guelph party rallying round the Buondelmonti, and the Ghibellines supporting the Uberti; and thus the feud continued for thirty years, the Guelph and Ghibelline power alternating in Tuscany.

It was at this same critical era that the Welf Otto, son of Henry the Lion, came to Italy and as Otto IV. received from Pope Innocent III. the crown of the Empire which really belonged to Frederick II. When, however, he tried also to establish his rights to the ever-disputed territory of Countess Mathilda, and to the Kingdom of Sicily for a long time united in fealty to the Holy See, Pope Innocent, who had hitherto thought little of the welfare of his ward, deserted Otto

and supported the claims of Frederick to the Imperial crown. In this way His Holiness united with the Ghibellines, really the Emperor's faction; and at the same time Otto, the leader of the Guelph party, fought the Pope. The cities also supported their own candidates respectively, some Papal towns adhering to Otto and some Ghibelline cities joining Frederick, who was the Pope's candidate against the Guelph Emperor; and thus the web and woof of Italian politics was twisted.

Frederick II., upheld by the forces of the Pope, slew Otto in the Battle of Bovines; and, though Innocent III. died soon after, Frederick II. was crowned as Emperor in 1220 by Honorius III. on condition that he should visit Palestine, divide the power by giving up Apulia and Sicily to his son Henry, and acknowledge his dependence on the Pope.

As an ambitious and diplomatic Papal ruler Innocent III. ranks with Gregory VII. and Boniface VIII. It was he who first conceived the idea of the Papal States by seizing upon a territory in the center of Italy and making the control of it one of the special offices of the Pope. He executed his plans with the ability of a great statesman, gaining such power over the contemporary sovereigns of Europe that they all feared him. For the purpose of stifling the spirit of inquiry among the people, he encouraged the Franciscan and Dominican friars, whose orders were just established; and, by raising the vexed question of the expediency of giving the communion cup to laymen, he created many schisms in the Church which lasted up to Luther's time.

Frederick II. was now the Emperor of the world and held the crown of Italy, Sicily, Sardinia, Apulia, Germany, Burgundy and Jerusalem. The versatility of

his character and comprehensiveness of his views made his reign one of the most remarkable of the age. He insisted on the obedience of law as the highest standard of justice; and accordingly the Kingdom of Sicily under his rule enjoyed exceptional prosperity. He surrounded himself with men of learning, adorned the city of Naples, established a University, and laid the foundation of the new Italian language, which has come down to us, he himself writing Italian poetry. He has been called the most cultivated monarch of those early times. Frederick's early training had made him skeptical and indifferent to the all-absorbing topic of the day, and, surrounded by everything calculated to fascinate the senses, he soon forgot his vow, made to Honorius, to set out on a crusade for the purpose of capturing the Holy Sepulchre from the hands of the Infidels. But, smarting under the maledictions of the Pope, he at last leisurely prepared for the campaign.

Meanwhile Honorius III. died and Gregory IX., his successor, tired of Frederick's vacillating course, excommunicated him. Finally, weary of the unrest at home, Frederick set sail for Palestine in 1228, and landed at Jean d'Arc, where, through his marriage with Iolanda, daughter of John of Brienne, the exiled King of Jerusalem, he claimed the temporal crown of the kingdom; and this he placed upon his own brow.

The Pope was so angry at the blasphemy of a monarch's undertaking a crusade in the face of excommunication, that he hurled another bull against him and sent an army to lay waste his territory.

On his return from the crusade Emperor and Pope were reconciled; but there were so many insurrections in the North that he was obliged to employ the infamous Ezzelino da Romano, together with his

Saracen troops, in putting them down. He also defeated the Milanese and their allies at Corte Nuova in 1237, sending their Carroccio to Rome as a trophy. Gregory IX. now became so uneasy at the almost complete ruin of the Guelph party that he called Venice and Genoa to his aid, and, having for a third time excommunicated Frederick II., he incited his son Henry to rebel against his father. This so angered Frederick that wherever he could find the partisans of the Church he put them to death.

The greatest drawback in the way of Frederick II.'s success was his contradictory character. "He surrounded himself at the same time with skeptics and churchmen, Mohammedans and Christians, and endowed convents and monasteries, while he was persecuting the defenders of the Church; and as soon as he was excommunicated, he started out on his crusade."

Gregory IX., not knowing what to do with this turbulent monarch, called together the famous Council at Meloria; but the Emperor was equal to the emergency, and with his squadron intercepted the French Bishops, appropriated their treasure, and sent the captive prelates bound in silver chains to Pisa. This was too much for the disappointed Pope, and he soon died from grief and chagrin, leaving the Papacy to Innocent IV., a former friend of Frederick II. Summoning a great council of one hundred and forty bishops from all over Europe, Pope Innocent hurled the greatest Bull of Excommunication upon Frederick which had been cast upon anyone since the time of Gregory VII. In it he declared that the Emperor had sacrificed his rights as a sovereign and that his subjects no longer owed him allegiance. Thus, though wearing five crowns, Fred-

erick II. henceforth led a doomed existence; for now he was surrounded on all sides by conspiracies, besides being maligned on account of the dark doings of his execrable vicar, Ezzelino da Romano; but fortunately, the latter, after having laid waste numberless provinces and committed murders by the thousand, was overcome by a united force of Guelphs and Ghibellines and slain.

At last as a final blow his favorite son Enzo was imprisoned at Fossalta, where he never again saw the light of day, dying twenty years later. There was a slight alleviation to the melancholy of this persecuted monarch at the time when the news that Florence had fallen into the hands of the Ghibellines reached his ears. He struggled on five years longer, dying in his Apulian castle of Fiorentino in 1250, a broken-hearted old man, although in fact but fifty-six years old. The power of the Ghibellines declined at his death, after having lasted a hundred years, and his reign closed the epoch of German Imperial rule in Italy.

Innocent IV. rejoiced at the death of this accomplished monarch, his friend of earlier years; and on his return to Rome he made the Ghibelline faction quake, by taking the ground that the Kingdom of Naples now rightfully belonged to the Papacy. In accordance with this view he made a war on Frederick's heirs which lasted eighteen years. Conrad IV., Frederick's successor, died in 1254, during the contest, leaving an infant son.

Innocent IV.'s influence, although it increased greatly, found in Brancaleone of Andalo, Count of Casalecchio, a Ghibelline opponent of much energy. This remarkable statesman, who won the respect of all posterity, before accepting the office of Senator in

1252, made definite terms to hold the government of Rome for three years, demanding that hostages for his safety should be sent to Bologna from the noblest Roman houses. Pope Innocent IV., being then absent at Perugia, could do nothing, and Brancaleone grasped the power firmly. He was the head of the republic in peace and war, appointed the Podestas in the adjoining territory subject to Rome, despatched ambassadors, concluded treaties and issued coins. The Parliament met in the square of the Capitol, and the Council in the Church of Araceli. Unfortunately, like most of the old Roman records, those pertaining to the proceedings of this body are lost; and it is only known that Brancaleone did not observe great ceremony, convoking the Councils as seldom as possible, but assembling the Parliament of the people frequently. He made the clergy respect the rights of the citizens, and put down the turbulent nobles with a high hand. He attacked their fortresses and leveled one hundred and forty strongholds, suspending some of the occupants on their own battlements. Brancaleone told Innocent IV., who had later fled in terror to Assisi, that he would burn him out if he did not return to Rome.

In order to assist the people guilds were organized, the chief of these being admitted into the Councils of the republic as early as 1267. Brancaleone was the first Senator who took the title of "*Romani Populi Capitanus*."

After Innocent IV.'s death, and the election of Alexander IV., the clergy rebelled against his iron rule and the nobles grew more uneasy under their fancied wrongs, so that at the end of his three years' term of office Brancaleone was thrown into prison; and, except for the hostages which he had required at first, his life

would have been sacrificed. As it was, in 1257 the Guilds arose, and recalled him for another three years.

Brancaleone made an alliance with the son of Frederick II., Manfred, who was then in command of the Imperial forces in Sicily and acting as king for his brother Conrad IV. Soon after the death of Conrad, Manfred joined the Ghibelline party under Farinata degli Uberti.

Florence had gained great power in Tuscany under the government of the Guelphs, who, after having been driven out by young Frederick, the natural son of Frederick II., had now come back. The Guelphs of Genoa and Modena, and even of Lombardy, united with that party in Tuscany, and in 1260 they all met on the battle-field of Monte Aperto. The contest was undecided for a long time, until the Guelph cavalry was betrayed by Bocca degli Abati, who went over to the Ghibellines, and the day was lost. A large number of the citizens were slain, and Florence herself, falling into the hands of the Ghibellines, the Caroccio was taken and a council was called to destroy the city. Although Farinata had in the beginning enlisted Manfred to help against Florence, he held the city in her danger dearer than his party. He said that he would not suffer his country to be destroyed while he could wield a sword, and begged so hard for her that Florence was finally saved. Dante, in his "*Inferno*," is supposed to have met Farinata in the Infernal Regions, where, among other things,

"He said and shook his mournful head,
| 'In these things was not I alone, nor could
Without grave reason be by others led,
But I stood sole, when all consenting would
Have swept off Florence from the earth;
Alone and openly in her defence I stood.'"

For a time the power of the Guelphs in Tuscany and throughout all Italy was at an end, and Manfred held great power at the head of the Ghibellines. Brancalione now ruled more sternly than ever in Rome, and became odious to Pope Alexander, who excommunicated him; that same year, in 1258, while engaged on the Siege of Cornetto, Brancalione was attacked by a violent fever, and, being carried to Rome, died on the Capitoline Hill.

Alexander IV. died in 1261 and was succeeded by a French Pope under the title of Urban IV. The choice for Emperor now lay between Alphonso X. of Castile and Richard, Earl of Cornwall, brother of Henry III. of England. Pope Urban IV. ignored both candidates and offered the crown to Louis IX. of France. The latter had too much dignity to meddle with things outside his own province, but, in 1265, he assisted his unscrupulous brother, Charles of Anjou, with men and money to undertake the conquest of Naples.

The Count of Anjou was cruel and ambitious, as well as unprincipled, and very wealthy through his wife, Beatrice, daughter of the Count of Provence, in whose right he held that country. Hers was a family of queens, and it was thought that her ambition spurred her husband on. Urban IV. and the Guelph party had agreed to the election of Charles as Senator of Rome, on condition that as king he should hold Sicily and Naples only as a fief from the Pope; and Urban, remembering how Henry VI. and Frederick II. had circumscribed the Church on the north and south, told Charles that when he obtained Naples he must relinquish the Senatorship of Rome, and must in the meantime acknowledge the supremacy of the Pope over the Senate. Although appearing to agree to

everything, Charles of Anjou intended to keep the Senatorship for life; and in addition to this, he succeeded in obtaining the Vicarship of Tuscany.

Before matters were settled Urban IV. died; and his successor, Clement IV., crowned Charles of Anjou King of the Two Sicilies in the Church of St. John in Lateran. At the Battle of Grandella, on the 26th of February, 1266, Manfred was deserted by many of the Italian Ghibellines, and finally when his army fled, he was slain, the success of Charles of Anjou's followers, the Guelph Angevines, being assured. The Guelphs who had been driven out at the Battle of Monte Aperto now returned, and Charles was elected Signor of Florence for two years. Pisa, envious of Florence, threw her influence on the side of the Ghibellines to bring forward young Conradin, the only heir to the House of Sicily and the last of the Hohenstaufen.

Notwithstanding the counsels of his mother, Conradin sold the most of his possessions in Germany, and though a mere lad, collected all the troops he could gather in that country. Reinforced by a large number of exiled Ghibellines and disaffected Sicilians, he crossed the Alps into Italy with ten thousand soldiers. At first the fair-haired boy defeated the army of Charles of Anjou; but at Tagliacozzo, in 1268, the victory was lost because, confident of success, Conradin's troops stopped to plunder the enemy.

Charles of Anjou had been for a time obliged to give up the Senatorship at Rome, a democratic government being formed, consisting of twenty-six "*buon homines*," with Angelo Capocci, a Ghibelline, as captain, while Don Henry, son of Henry III. of Castile, was elected Senator. The latter kept the clergy down and subdued the rough element of the Campagna, and,

throwing the Guelph nobles into disorder, he made an alliance with the Tuscan Ghibellines. Don Henry drove back the troops of Charles, and when Conradin came he gave him a hearty welcome. But after the Battle of Tagliacozzo Charles was again elected Senator for ten years, and, Conradin having been betrayed into his hands, he had him put to death in a most barbarous manner. Anjou has been called "The Exterminator of the Hohenstaufen."

Charles of Anjou would now have been master of the whole of Italy, and might have been crowned as Emperor, had not Gregory X. enlisted Rudolph of Hapsburg, the founder of the Hapsburg House in Germany, to assist him. The agreement was that Rudolph, as Emperor, should abstain from any interference in Italy, and that he should confirm the territorial pretensions of the Pope by a charter. In accordance with this arrangement, in 1276 Emilia, Romagna, the March of Ancona, the Patrimony of St. Peter and the Campagna of Rome belonged to the Holy See, and not to the Empire. These were the States of the Church which swore allegiance to the Pope, and stamped his image on their coins; and ever after this the Popes were landed proprietors.

Nicholas III., who succeeded Gregory X., took away from Charles of Anjou the Vicarship of Tuscany and the Senatorship of Rome, and, raising the Ghibelline power, persuaded Rudolph of Hapsburg to surrender all titles to the lands of Countess Mathilda.

Italy was now divided into three portions, the Kingdom of Naples in the south under Charles of Anjou; the Papal States, which contained seventeen thousand square miles and a population of several millions in the center of Italy; while Rudolph of Hapsburg con-

sidered the northern portion peculiarly his own, since he never meddled with the rest.

At the time of the ascendancy of the Guelphs in 1276, the constitution of Florence assumed the form which it was destined to hold for many years. The citizens were divided into Guilds or Arts, as the trade organizations of Florence were called at that time. Each Art had its own council of six priors and its leader or Gonfaloniere, who all held office two months and ate at the same table and lived in the Palazzo Pubblico. There were twelve of these Arts in which the power was placed, and which were made the foundation of the constitution. The criminal court was under the supervision of both the Podesta and the Captain of the People.

Florence had now no rival among Italian cities, and her location was unsurpassed in loveliness. She had become vastly populous and had gained great wealth and renown through her commerce, the Florentine fabrics being in the greatest demand in the European markets for three hundred years.

CHAPTER IV

VENICE, PISA, GENOA.—COLONNA AND ORSINI.—SICILIAN
VESPER. —THE NERI AND BIANCHI.—DANTE.

1280—1310 A.D.

VENICE, in the beginning a collection of scattered islands, had gradually assumed considerable importance; but she never came into political notice outside her own limits until 1237, when the cruel execution of Frederick Tiepolo, the Podesta of Milan and son of their Doge, aroused the Venetians and incited them to join the Lombard League.

From this time the Venetian republic made rapid strides in wealth and power, and attained great renown. Her government has been handed down as one of the most remarkable bodies in history. It was much like the administration in Florence, only that the Doges, nominated in the general assembly of the citizens, kept their position for life, assisted by six priors, it being stipulated that no Doge should associate his son in the government. At first there was only the Great Council, which consisted of the higher nobles and the lesser nobles; but the people, being denied all voice in municipal proceedings, became dissatisfied. Accordingly a legislature was organized, composed of four hundred and eighty delegates, and a constitution was formed.

In 1301 the famous "Council of Ten" was instituted, which kept the people enslaved by the nobles. This Council united with the Doge and his priors, and held despotic power for a great number of years.

Its object was the ferreting out and punishing of crime.

At the height of her glory Venice held dominion over three-eighths of the old Roman Empire; and for half a century Genoa, aided by Greece, and Venice, by Pisa, were engaged in incessant strife, fighting over the spoils brought in from the Eastern world. It was the crusades which built up the commerce of Venice in the East, and brought into Europe much of the luxury of Oriental splendor; since her ships, after transporting troops to Palestine, came back laden with products from the Orient.

About 1200 A.D., at the time of the fourth crusade under Innocent III., in which Venice took so great a part, the Venetian fleet conquered Constantinople and kept it for forty-seven years; and besides this, many islands were at this time ceded to her. The same old palaces then inhabited by the wealthy families who engaged in the commerce of that era are still seen on the Grand Canal.

Genoa and Pisa, which had been contending for many years for supremacy, in 1284 engaged in a final struggle. When a large part of the Pisan fleet was destroyed by a tempest, Genoa rejoiced; and when the Genoese navy captured more Pisan galleys, on their way to Sardinia, the great bells in the lofty tower of Maria in Carignano sounded forth their chimes more gaily than ever. Finally the large Genoese fleet outnumbered the three hundred Pisan galleys at the mouth of the Arno, and triumphed over the Pisans at the Battle of Meloria, the same place where forty years before Frederick II. had made his famous seizure of the whole Council of Bishops. Eleven thousand inhabitants were captured in this battle and

many more were drowned. Ten thousand Pisan prisoners perished in the dungeons of Genoa during the next half score of years; and it came to be a saying: "If you would see the Pisans you must go to Genoa."

All the Guelph cities assisted in the final destruction of Pisa, and from this time her decline was rapid. At last she was betrayed by Count Gheradisci, the admiral of the Pisan navy, who had sought to confirm his own power by making terms secretly with the Florentines. The city was plunged into civil war and the great bells sounded. The party opposed to Gheradisci was victorious, and on the 1st of July, 1288, after a day's fighting, the Count and his two sons were cast into a tower known as the "Tower of the Seven Streets," or "The Tower of Famine." Here they were left to die of hunger. Their suffering is one of the topics in Dante's "*Divina Commedia*." The Pisans up to the present day still exhibit the effects of continuous crushing defeat.

The Sicilians, being tired of Charles of Anjou and his provincial troops, John of Procida put himself at the head of a conspiracy to arouse the people and exterminate French power from the island. He was assisted by both Emperor Michael of Constantinople and Peter, King of Aragon, who by marriage was entitled to the throne of Naples.

In the year 1282, as the citizens of Palermo were celebrating Easter Monday, a beautiful girl of high rank was insulted by a French soldier. The conspirators, only awaiting an occasion for an uprising, pierced the miscreant to the heart with their daggers. The tolling vesper bells seemed to be counting out the hour of retribution for the long-practiced cruel-

ties of the French rulers; and, as the cry of agony arose, the crowd of thousands formed itself into a mob which took possession of the city. A general slaughter of the French followed; and in the morning not one out of the thousands of resident French had escaped. The work did not cease here; but all the French in Sicily were utterly exterminated "in this great flame of insurrection," the horrible massacre being handed down as the "Sicilian Vespers."

Charles of Anjou was compelled to retire from Messina by Peter of Aragon, who was anchored in the harbor. Anjou's whole fleet, which was ready for the Greek War, was destroyed; so that, although assisted by Philip the Bold and Pope Martin IV., he was never able to recover his lost dominion before his death in 1286. During the next twenty years the Spanish Ghibellines in Sicily and Apulia were ruled by Peter of Aragon and his sons, while the French Angevin House reigned in Naples, supported by the Guelphs.

Since the expiration of Charles of Anjou's Senatorship of ten years in Rome, the Colonna, Savelli, Orsini, Anaibaldi and other Roman nobles had held the power, much to the detriment of the republic; and when the fame of the Sicilian Vespers reached the city the Orsini rose in arms, massacred the French garrison and re-established a popular government.

In 1294 the Cardinal Colonna refused to acknowledge Pope Boniface VIII., because the latter, in order to raise his own faction to power, opposed the Colonna family, then in power, and excommunicated them. For a time Pope Boniface succeeded in keeping down their influence, until at last, at the instigation of William Nogari and Sciarra Colonna, the Pontiff was impris-

oned at Anagni and treated with such violence that, in 1303, he died of grief at the humiliation.

On account of the violence of the extreme faction, the Guelphs in Florence had separated in 1300, the Bianchi or Whites, the moderate portion, developing into Ghibellines. The quarrels of these parties had risen so high, that Boniface VIII. felt obliged to summon Charles of Valois, brother of Philip the Fair of France. In 1301 Charles of Valois was joined by Corso Donati, and with the French cavalry laid waste everything within reach; and afterwards the former advanced to Sicily to support the Guelphs against Frederick of Aragon.

In the course of these dissensions Dante, who was of the moderate Guelph party, the Bianchi, was driven into exile and, through the tragedy of his sufferings, produced his immortal poem, the "*Divina Commedia*." This religious epic treats of Paradise, Purgatory and an Inferno, and describes Dante as visiting these places and talking with such of his countrymen as were noted for good and evil deeds. It is pronounced one of the greatest productions of human genius; and in it the principal characters in the awful scenes enacted at this era in Italy are painted in ineffaceable colors.

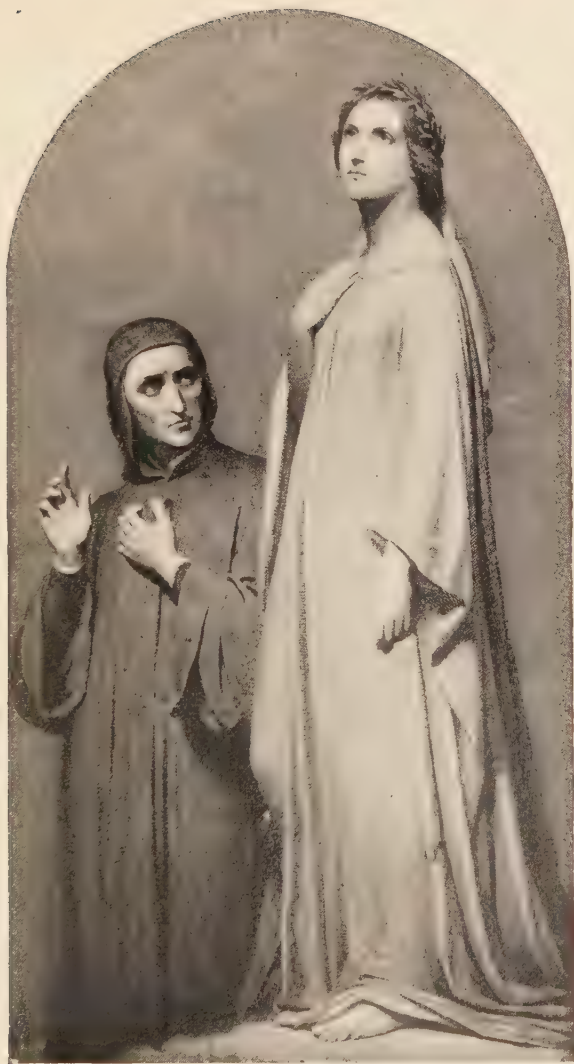
Dante's mind was greatly influenced by a certain religious revival in the Church; since at this time Boniface VIII. had set apart the year 1300 as the first secular Jubilee, at the same time granting to all Christians, who should make pilgrimages to the holy places of Rome, divine peace and mercy. In this way the custom originated of making the last year of each century the occasion of special religious solemnities. The overwhelming excitement at this time brought out so great a number of the faithful that the old bridge

of St. Angelo had to be divided by a barrier to separate the crowds going in different directions to St. Peter's and St. Paul's, many thousands besides the "Divine Poet" being stirred to noble thoughts and actions.

Dante's is the first great name in literature after the "night of the Dark Ages." He was born under the sign of the Gemini, which astrologers considered favorable to literature and science. In the "Inferno" we learn that his instructor, Brunetti Latini, told him that if the guidance of this constellation were followed it would lead him to everlasting fame. While yet a boy Dante had prepared himself for his great work by the study of Virgil, Horace, Ovid and also by theological research.

The great poet had first met Beatrice Portinari at the house of her father, in 1274, when they were both nine years of age. Although he never spoke with her personally but once or twice, and she knew little of his devotion to her, until the end of his life her beauty was his glory, her memory his solace, and her image his guiding star; and after her death he writes in his "Vita Nuova": "It was given to me to see a beautiful and wonderful vision, which determined me to say nothing until I could write more worthily concerning her what hath not been written of any woman."

Florence had enjoyed uninterrupted peace after the Battle of Monte Aperto, in 1228, until January 11, 1289, when, at the Battle of Campaldino, the Ghibelines were defeated. Dante proved his manhood in fighting both there and at Caprona. Then he returned to his studies and to the meditations of his love; but in 1290 Beatrice died. Dante was a skilled draughtsman, and on the anniversary of that day he drew an angel on her tombstone.



DANTE AND BEATRICE.

Beatrice had become the wife of Simeone di Bardi, and, in 1292, after her death Dante, won by sympathy and kindness, married the daughter of Corso Donati. In spite of rumors to the contrary there is little doubt that Gemma, the mother of his seven children, was an affectionate wife; but for some reason or other she was never with him in his exile, and he left her out altogether in his "*Divina Commedia*." Her father, Corso Donati, became Dante's bitter political enemy in the strife then pending.

Dante was inscribed in the "*Art of the Medici and Speziale*," which made him eligible as one of six priors to whom the government was entrusted in 1282. Documents still exist in Florence showing that he took part in the Council of the city in 1295; and from June till August of 1300 he held the office of prior.

On January 27, 1302, Dante, with three others charged with embezzlement, was compelled to pay a fine of five thousand liras; and on March 10, for political reasons, he and fourteen other condemned persons were exiled from Tuscany for two years, and sentenced to be burned alive if found within the limits of the republic. All the exiles met at a castle called Garganza, between Siena and Arezzo, and Dante went from there to Verona and placed himself in the care of Bartholomeo Scala, whose son Can Grande was then a boy. An ill-advised attempt on the part of his companions to storm Florence disclosed to Dante their incapacity and baseness. Then, in his contempt for them, he became independent of the Bianchi in whose ranks he had been born and bred. Standing thus alone, he for the first time realized the bitterness of banishment.

Though at first people thought of Dante only as an

exiled politician, he had, before he ever entered politics, written his "*Vita Nuova*," the song of his love for Beatrice, and other poems, so that often when he was going along the streets of Florence, as Boccaccio tells it, he heard the blacksmith at his anvil and the men driving their mules singing his verses. When they did not quote his lines correctly, he would stop them on the street, chide them and tell them they were spoiling his work.

After the first years of Dante's exile, spent in trying to return to Florence, it dawned on him that "the sun still rose and set outside his beloved city"; and he wandered from castle to castle and from monastery to monastery, until little by little he began to think of other things. His hopes failed at the untimely death of Henry VII., whom he had looked forward to as the deliverer of Italy; and when Corso Donati, his father-in-law, with whom he had become reconciled, was attacked and killed in 1308, after joining the Ghibellines, his courage entirely gave way.

Many cities and castles in Italy have claimed the honor of giving Dante refuge and being for a time the home of his Muse. Dante himself says: "Through almost every land where the Italian language is spoken a wanderer I have gone, showing against my will the wounds of fortune." The Ghibelline leader Ugucione at one time offered him shelter way up in the mountains of Urbino; and, after visiting the University of Bologna, Dante retired to the Castle of Moroello della Spina, where the "marble mountains of the Apennines descend precipitously" to the Gulf of Spezia.

Dante, when he received the news of his exile, was absent on a diplomatic expedition to Rome, and in the

succeeding troublous times the old home opposite the Church of San Martino, which to-day bears the inscription, "The House where Dante was born," was broken up. Gemma, provident housekeeper that she was, hastily collected all the manuscripts and fugitive poems, put them together in a separate box, without any particular reference to their value, and sent them with other possessions to neutral friends. Years after, when comparative security prevailed, Gemma, with the help of Dante's nephew, Andrea, a young man who much resembled his uncle, collected her scattered treasures. The latter happened to open the chest in which Dante's writings had been packed, and discovered seven cantos of the "*Divina Commedia*," written in Italian.

Dante had not forgotten these, but, too sorrowful to think of intellectual pursuits, he had given up completing the work. His nephew, Andrea, who deserves the recognition of all posterity for this service, took the seven cantos to literary critics. These all agreed as to their merits, and a copy was sent to Dante in his mountain monastery above Spezia. Then the poet set himself to finish the work. He occupied two years in writing the "*Inferno*," which he dedicated to his host Malaspina. He devoted two years also to each of the others, the "*Purgatorio*" and the "*Paradiso*." The former he wrote at Pisa and dedicated to Uguccone, the "*Paradiso*" at Verona, dedicating it to Can Grand della Scala, whose hospitality he enjoyed for a number of years. To him he sent before publishing them all of the cantos except the last thirteen, which were written after differences arose between them. These cantos were sought for unavailingly after his death, until one of his two sons, who had lived with him in

his last retreat at Ravenna, by means of a dream discovered their hiding-place behind a secret panel, covered with dust, cobwebs and mold. Dante would not send these to his offended patron, and could not bear to publish them without first submitting them to the arbiter of all the rest.

After Dante separated from Can Grand, he visited Paris and went to Holland, crossing over to England. Still he longed for Florence, and "lingered upon the Umbrian Hills, where the horizon closed over his home." Once he had an opportunity to return; for at the Festival of St. John certain criminals and political offenders were granted pardon, on condition of paying a fine and offering themselves to the care of that Saint. Dante's friends made a strenuous effort to induce him to accept this way of ending his exile; but he scorned the humiliating favor, saying: "If by this means only I can return to Florence, she shall never again be entered by me."

Boccaccio tells us that after Dante had written his "Inferno" he appeared one day to Fra Ilario, prior of the Monastery of Santa Croce del Corvo, asking for peace. Fra Ilario recognized the stranger as no other than Dante, who on leaving drew from his bosom a little book and gave it to the prior as a memorial. It was the "Inferno." Fra Ilario was much surprised to see so arduous a task accomplished in Italian, and asked Dante why he had written it in the vulgar tongue. The reply was that, having seen the songs of the most illustrious poets neglected, he had thought it best to adapt this great work to the "understanding of the moderns." In this way he confirmed the classic Italian which Frederick II. had first established in Sicily and made the court language.

Boccaccio describes Dante somewhat as follows: "Dante was of middle height and stooped when he walked, and his aspect was grave and quiet. His face was long, he had an aquiline nose and his eyes were large. His complexion was dark, his hair and beard thick, black and curly, and his countenance was always melancholy. So it happened one day in Verona after his works were already known and his face familiar to many, that he passed before a house where several women were seated; and one said softly: 'Did you notice him who goes to hell and returns again when he likes, and brings back news of the people down below.' Another woman replied: 'You speak the truth, for see how scorched his beard is and how dark he is from the heat and smoke.' When Dante heard this and saw that the women believed it he was pleased and amused and went on his way with a smile."

It is pleasant to think that the last days of this great, but sad poet were passed in peace at the home of his friend Guido di Polenta, among the high houses of the same shady street in Ravenna opposite which one to-day sees his tomb. "Here all the world was tender to the poet." Here, withdrawn from all possibility of a sight of Florence, he gave up his deferred hope and was able to sink back into the melancholy old city with its mournful mosaics, almost as much older than Giotto as that painter is older than the artists of the present day. Here he was comforted by his two sons, Pietro and Jacopo, and spent much time in correspondence with his far-off friends.

Guido of Polenta treated Dante with great consideration, giving him the place of honor at his table and sending him on important missions.

Once he received an invitation to go to Bologna to

accept the Crown of Poetry. He replied: "If ever I am crowned at all it shall be within the solemn walls of the 'Bel San Giovanni,' " the church which Dante had never ceased to love. He wrote, "Sweet would it be to decorate my head with the crown of laurel in Bologna, but sweeter still in my own country, if ever I return there, hiding my white hair beneath the leaves."

On returning from a mission to Venice, Dante caught a fever among the marshes, and in the month of September in the year 1321, when he was fifty-six years of age, he died at Ravenna.

Florence at first made no sign of penitence; but "to her shame one day she awoke to her glory" in his unrivaled greatness. She waited long for the people of Ravenna to give him up; and she built him a beautiful monument in the Church of San Croce, a sarcophagus bearing the words: "Dante Alighieri, il Divina Poeta," etc.; but it is still empty. In the square outside his statue rises in almost divine benignity; and as one looks upon the penciled features it is not hard to understand how such wonderful creations could spring from a soul so harassed and persecuted.

CHAPTER V

THE AGE OF THE DESPOTS.—THE CONDOTTIERI AND THE
FREE COMPANIES.—PETRARCH, BOCCACCIO, GIOTTO,
CIMABUE.—RIENZI.

1310—1354 A.D.

IT was in the time of Clement V., in the year 1314, that the Holy See was moved to Avignon. This was the home of the Popes for the seventy-five years known as the "Babylonian Captivity." The Papal Palace built in Clement V.'s time was for many years used as a soldiers' barracks, and resounded to the revelry of the troops of France. Recently, however, the relic has been restored and transformed into a museum.

Since the death of Frederick II. no German had claimed the crown of Italy; but in 1310 Henry VII. crossed the Alps for the purpose of putting down the Guelphs. It was the sound of his coming that had so thrilled Dante's heart. At first all the nobles and leaders rushed to his standard, the Ghibellines receiving him as though belonging to them, and many of the Guelphs, because the Pope favored him. When, however, it was apparent that he intended to put down the rebellious independence of the Italian cities, the strong Guelph influence predominated against him and nothing was accomplished except the recall of a few exiles, Dante being emphatically mentioned among the exceptions. Rome also was opposed to Henry VII. and called to her assistance Robert of Naples, the grandson

of Charles of Anjou, so that Henry had to be crowned in St. John in Lateran instead of in the Vatican.

Henry VII. made an alliance with Frederick of Aragon against Florence and the King of Naples, and while he was besieging Florence, during three months, a third wall was built around the city for protection.

Henry VII. had already established the power of the Visconti in Milan and subjected Brescia and Cremona; and he seemed about to gain the ascendancy in Italy when, as he was marching up the country from Pisa with a powerful army in the August of 1313, he suddenly died, poisoned in the communion cup in which his coronation had at last been consecrated. He was buried in Pisa, which had always been faithful to him. This was the last attempt of the German rulers to receive the Imperial crown, although they still kept up the title. Dante in his "*Monarchia*" strongly expressed the disrespect of the Italian people for the German rulers and for the empty epithet of Emperor.

In the beginning the Ghibellines were on the side of the Empire, and the Guelphs in favor of the Church; but later the Florentines were equally indifferent to Church and Emperor, unless they worked for her interests; and "all parties confiscated right and left, whether they called themselves Guelphs or Ghibellines, Neri or Bianchi, or later Albizzi and Medici, Arabiate or Piagnoni." This struggle, however, between Guelphs and Ghibellines had a powerful influence on all subsequent Italian history, since it proved to be a contention between old fossilized institutions and progress.

In the first half of the fourteenth century the nobles were men of arms by profession. After the downfall of Ezzelino of Romano the lords of Pisa, Florence, Genoa and Bologna got the upper hand and were

foremost as leaders in "The Age of the Despots." The Scaliegri rose in Verona, the Carraresi in Padua, the Castrucci in Lucca, the Estensi in Ferrara, and in Ravenna the Polenta family ruled. At Rimini the Malatesta, and at Parma the Rossi, at Piacenza the Scotti, at Faenza the Manfredi, in Genoa the Doria and Spinola were the despots, while all the time the Visconti ruled the Milanese. These, together with Robert of Naples and Pope John XXII., were contending for supremacy.

A story of the Polenta family immortalized by Dante in his "*Inferno*" is one of the most tragic in history. Francesca da Rimini, the beautiful daughter of Giovanni da Polenta of Ravenna, had been given in marriage to his efficient general, Giovanni Malatesta of Rimini, who was brave, but deformed and ugly. The heart of Francesca was won by the brother, Paolo the Handsome, and Dante tells the rest:

"One day for our delight we read of Lancelot,
How him love enthralled. . . .
The book and writer both were love's purveyors,
In its leaves that day we read no more."

Giovanni, jealous of his brother, murdered them both. This happened in Pesaro in 1284.

The government of all the Guelph cities was much like that of Florence. A Council of the party was in time added to the General Council and the Parliament; and the office of consul gradually yielded to the priors chosen from the Arts and Guilds; but the Gonfaloniere of Justice alone held a check upon the despotic nobles. The office of Podesta was taken by a judge, an autocrat who decided all civic questions and declared war.

In Rome the nobles removed Henry VII.'s officers

and put Sciarra Colonna and Francesco Orsini in power as Senators. But the people rose and, driving these out, elected Jacob Arlotti Captain, with twenty-six "buon homines." He cast the nobles into prison and demolished their strongholds, so that a civil war ensued, during which one noble family united with the Ghibelline party and another with the Guelphs; and the Orsini, the Colonna, the Velletri, the Savelli and the Gætani fought in their turn. There are many interesting stories connected with these noble families, and many romances resulting from the opposite houses joining their fortunes in forbidden marriages.

The Orsini and Colonna were the most noted among these cliques, their families being foes for two hundred and fifty years. Jealousy with regard to position was the ground of their quarrel, since glory redounded to each alike; and besides this, they belonged to opposite parties, the Guelphs and Ghibellines respectively.

The "Ursini" migrated from Spoleto in the twelfth century. They were the sons of Ursus, who was at one time Senator in Rome, and styled the father of their race. Soon the number and bravery of their kinsmen, the strength of their fortifications, their honor as statesmen, and the elevation of two of them, Celestin III. and Nicholas III., increased their emoluments, Nicholas III. giving the estates belonging to the Church to the Orsini family. Earlier their power had been increased by the marriage of Ursus' son to a daughter of the House of the Gætani. The castle of Bracciano, on the lake of the same name, was the chief residence of the family, who owned many strongholds in the vicinity of Rome.

The names and arms of the Colonna are still subjects of doubt. Their family was first heard of in

1104, and they are supposed to have descended from the Counts of Tusculum. "The pillar entwined in their crest and embodied in their name has been credited respectively to Trajan's Column, the Pillar of Hercules, the Column of Christ's Flagellation, and also the Pillar of Fire which guided the Israelites through the desert." But it is thought that the family ensign was some lofty pillar used as a decoration upon their heights in some of their estates in the Campagna. Nicholas I. was so great a patron of their family that he has been depicted in satirical portraits as imprisoned in a hollow pillar. At the end of the thirteenth century the family consisted of an uncle and six brothers. Soon after this we hear of the Colonna in connection with Boniface VIII. The eagle and keys appeared respectively on the banners of the Orsini and Colonna; and long after the grounds of their early quarrels were forgotten they fought on.

In 1323, after a long strife, Frederick the Fair of Austria had been overthrown at Müldorf, and Louis of Bavaria, or Louis IV., was crowned in 1328 with the Iron Crown of Lombardy, through the influence of the Italian Ghibellines, and afterwards in Rome by two excommunicated bishops, who were soon set up as anti-Popes. After Matteo Visconti died, Louis installed Galeazzo, his son, at Milan, but for political reasons he afterwards imprisoned him. Louis made Castruccio Castracani, who was a nobleman in his bearing, though one of the great adventurers of the day, Duke of Lucca as well as Imperial Vicar and Senator of Rome. Although during this Age of the Despots many adventurers followed in the same train, Castruccio was the first man of his class to receive a title which became hereditary.

Rome at first welcomed Louis of Bavaria with joy; but, he having betrayed the Ghibelline party, who had upheld him and relied on his support, so many factions arose, that in 1329 both Louis and the anti-Pope Nicholas, whom he had set up, were obliged to take themselves out of the way. After the election of Benedict XII. the Romans attacked the capital and established a democratic government, sending to Florence for a model; but their reforms did not apply to Rome, and public discord reached such a height that Benedict XII. was obliged to retire to Avignon, and was succeeded by Clement VI. in 1342.

This was a bitter time for Florence also, for she too was oppressed by Castruccio Castrucani, the tyrant of Lucca, until he died in 1328. Florence had fallen into the hands of what was called the "Popolani Grossi", a Plebeian aristocracy, and in her trouble she had called upon Robert of Naples for aid. He was now old, and accordingly sent his son, the Duke of Calabria, accompanied by Walter of Brienne, Duke of Athens, the duke's lieutenant. Walter of Brienne was "crafty, clever and unscrupulous," and in 1342, by flattering the Florentines, gained control of the city for life. The nobles, however, after a year, seeing that they were denied any part in the government, drove Walter of Brienne out of the city. The people soon regretted this, for Florence was speedily overrun by mercenaries now employed everywhere in Italy; and to complete their misery, famine, and at last the plague, stared them in the face.

Robert of Naples died in 1343 at the age of eighty. He offered the crown to Andrew, son of his nephew, King of Hungary, on condition that he should marry Joanna, his orphan granddaughter. She was a charm-

ing Italian princess, brought up in one of the most fashionable courts of Europe; and she soon despised this boorish prince who had become her husband. Accordingly Robert himself, seeing that Andrew could not fill the position, excluded him altogether from the succession, and left the throne to Joanna under a regency until she became of age.

Joanna was a girl of only sixteen, gay, high-strung, and inexperienced; and she soon became demoralized. Tired of being harassed by the importunities of Andrew to be allowed to share the crown, she had him spirited away into the country, and, after a revel one night, he was thrown from the window of an old fortress. Joanna married Louis of Taranta soon after, and there was so much scandal connected with Andrew's death that the latter's brother, Louis of Hungary, without difficulty, took possession of the throne in 1347. He soon retired to Hungary, however, leaving only a fortified garrison for defence; and Joanna, gaining the influence of Clement VI., with the aid of her friends regained her kingdom after three years of atrocious barbarities on both sides.

Finally Urban VI. excommunicated Joanna of Naples, who had afterwards married successively James of Aragon and Otto of Brunswick, and installed Charles Durazza of the House of Anjou; and when Joanna, having no children, declared Louis, Duke of Anjou, uncle of Charles VI. of France, her heir, Durazza instigated her assassination. Soon after Durazza, or Charles III., as he was called, was himself slain. He left a son, Ladislaus, ten years old, and a daughter, Joanna II.; while Louis of Anjou, Joanna's heir, at his death left a boy, styled Louis III. Ladislaus at the age of sixteen gained influence by

marrying a wealthy heiress, and, triumphantly entering Naples, drove out his rival, Louis III., thus becoming the head of the Ghibellines, or anti-French party.

Ladislaus' sister, Joanna II., succeeded him and, having no heirs, adopted Louis III. of Anjou, grandson of that Louis I., the successor of Joanna I. At the death of Louis III., Joanna II. then chose his brother René, but as soon as she died Alphonso V. of Aragon, entitled the Magnanimous, drove René out and became King of Aragon, Naples and Sicily. This Alphonso has the reputation of being the wisest and most popular sovereign that ever ruled over the Kingdom of Naples, his reign of twenty-three years being the most prosperous period of the Sicilian kingdom. Some think that his government formed a basis on which Italian independence might have been secured.

As will be remembered, the complicated history of Naples and Sicily dates back as far as 1053, when the leaders of the Hauteville family did homage to Pope Leo IX. for all conquests they had made, or might make. In 1130 the Island of Sicily under Count Roger was united with Naples in one social body, called by the Italians a "regno," which differed in its social institutions and foreign relations from the rest of Italy. Charles of Anjou, after his victory at Grandella, in the year 1265, had gained the United Kingdom, calling it the "Two Sicilies," and Naples was the capital; but in consequence of the Sicilian Vespers he was obliged to relinquish Sicily in 1282, although he continued to be King of Naples. After this the two kingdoms were separated until the year 1442, when, as has been seen, this same Alphonso V. expelled René of Anjou from the Kingdom of Naples and reunited the Two Sicilies under his rule. They continued thus until his

death in 1458, when they were again separated until 1504. With short interruptions after this they both continued under Spanish rule until 1861, when through the cession by Garibaldi of his conquests to the scepter of the House of Savoy, they were absorbed into the present Italian kingdom.

During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries wars were carried on largely by mercenaries, mostly adventurers who were called "Free Companies." This kind of fighting force was first collected from disbanded German, British, and French soldiers, whom the Visconti, Castruccio Castrucani, etc., took into their pay. Among them were Fra Monreale, Count Lando and Duke Werner, the last the captain of the first "Great Company" and styled "The Enemy of God, of Pity and of Mercy"; these were some of the names of this kind of brigand which have come down to us. Fra Monreale was afterwards the captain of the "Great Company of Knights of St. John," and was as noted in his day as any of the princes. He has been handed down in the romances which have for their basis the unsettled state of the society of that era. His band was employed by the League of Montferrat, La Scala, Caresi and Este to check the Visconti.

The Free Companies became a great curse to Italy, since the Italians themselves soon discovered that this kind of service offered a profitable career to men of daring. Alberico da Barbiano, a noble of Romagna, Italianized the profession of "mercenary arms" and formed the Company of St. George. These mercenaries as a class were called *condottieri*, from *condotta*, meaning a paid contract. Thus "heavily armed cavaliers, officered by professional captains, fought the battles of Italy, while despots and republics

schemed in their castles or debated in the Council chambers." The remuneration of these men-at-arms was greater than that of the best-paid artisans; and the perils of war at that era being inconsiderable, in the course of time the ranks of the condottieri were recruited largely from the "needy nobility of Italy," who were fascinated by the life of daring and the wealth to be gained. Courtesy was the rule between these licensed bandits. They had a code of honor which did not permit imprisonment and spared the lives of the enemy of the same class.

The "Great Company" was the first example of a strolling band of soldiers kept up for the sake of plunder. As early as 1339 this "Great Company" was broken up through the continued efforts of the Florentines, though the custom of carrying on war by means of mercenaries still went on. Battles soon became less bloody, and "gayly caparisoned cavalry" was introduced in place of the old-time militia; and war soon degenerated into a selfish contract between nations and their own armies, which resulted in intrigue and treachery. A company of English soldiers came over to the peninsula, led by Sir John Hawkwood, really a condottieri leader of what was called the "White Company"; and he at first fought bravely for the Pisans against the Florentines and the rest of Tuscany.

The rise of mercenaries marks the epoch when Italian despotism became the most insupportable. At first the tyrants got into public favor by being appointed captains of the people and vicars of the city. In order to make their government seem protective, they freed the people from military service by employing these mercenaries; and at the same time they rendered the

old aristocracy powerless. As they grew stronger they advanced hereditary claims, and, assuming titles, soon took on the style of petty sovereigns. Although they used bribery instead of coercion, there was no limit to their cruelty. Galeazzo Visconti and Lorenzo di Medici were examples of this mode of despotism, which "reigned by terrorism behind a smile."

Notwithstanding all these dissensions, the arts and sciences flourished. Giotto and Cimabue invested the art of painting with new life. Petrarch, as a follower of Dante, helped to create the most melodious and flexible of languages out of old barbarous idioms. He enjoyed, while living, the praises of his contemporaries, as kneeling before the throne in Rome he received the laurel crown, while the people shouted "Long live the Capitol and the Poet." It was a degree of Doctor of Arts in poetry, and was invented by the German Emperors; and from this time the custom of having a poet laureate has been kept up in England. Petrarch was born in 1304, and lived half of his life in the valley of Vaucluse near Avignon; and in his verses he celebrated his love for Laura, the beautiful and virtuous, whose image in all his wanderings he could never tear from his heart. Even the laurel crown was dearer to him because its name was like that of his adored Laura. Their reclining statues, side by side, are seen to-day in the old museum at Avignon in southern France. Petrarch died in 1374.

Giovanni Boccaccio was born in 1313 and died in 1375. He accomplished for Italian prose what Petrarch did for its poetry. He wrote in the Tuscan language, and in his collection of novels he makes a burlesque of the wickedness of the times.

The two Malespina were the earliest Italian his-

torians; and Giovanni Villani, who died of the plague, also graphically chronicled events of the times, as did Matteo and Philipppo, his brother and nephew. During the century and a half between 1305, when Clement V. settled at Avignon, and 1447, when Nicholas V. re-established the Papacy at Rome on a more solid basis, the Italians are said to have come nearer self-government than at any other epoch. At a period a little later the peninsula was divided up into five principal powers, the Kingdom of Naples, the Duchy of Milan, the republic of Florence, the republic of Venice, and the Papal States, and their united influence for forty-five years secured a brilliant season of peace and prosperity.

The history of Rome from this era was to a large degree swallowed up in that of the Papal States.

In the middle of the fourteenth century floods, famines and, in 1348, a fearful plague, which had earlier devastated the East, visited Italy. Naples lost sixty thousand of her inhabitants, Pisa more than half of hers, while Siena never regained her pristine prosperity. Boccaccio in his fascinating, though often corrupt, writing, gave a wonderful account of the sufferings of his native city at the time of this pestilence of 1348, which was called the "Plague of Florence." Under the terrible affliction, men, terrorized by overshadowing death, became lawless and strangers to natural affection.

Meanwhile Rome was the scene of great disorder. Through all the strife in the rest of Italy the Romans had kept up the desire of governing themselves, and in 1347 they were still further aroused by one Cola di Rienzi, called the "Last of the Tribunes." Though only a notary and the son of a Roman innkeeper, this

gifted man had a striking presence and a refined mind. Early in his life his brother had been slain by one of the Colonna family, and in his desire for vengeance he had imbibed a hatred for the whole race of nobles with a passionate love for the republic.

Rienzi held everyone spellbound who came within the sound of his voice, and he at length believed himself divinely inspired to revive the ancient glories of Rome. He had been made tribune by the Romans and Pope Clement VI. at first seemed to endorse his views. In the May of 1347, after Rienzi had returned from an audience with His Holiness, he draped himself in a toga decorated with figures allegorical of his mission, and appeared in the presence of a few burghers and merchants, announcing to them a speedy restoration of Rome's ancient grandeur; and at the same time he made a solemn vow to overthrow the nobility and consolidate the republic.

It was a favorable moment; for there was anarchy in the Kingdom of Naples, the Pope was for a time absent, and the Empire had been only a tottering fabric for many years. Rienzi spent the night of May 19, 1347, in the town hall; and, having placed the enterprise under the protection of the Holy Spirit, he convoked a Parliament of the people in the Capitol to arrange laws, raise an army, and provide for the public need and safety.

On the day that Rienzi was publicly proclaimed tribune the nobles, though they retired scoffing, were alarmed; for Stephen Colonna was away with his forces at Palestrina, and the revolution every moment was making great headway. With a bodyguard of one hundred men Rienzi assumed command of the extemporized army, and retained, in place of the reg-

ular Senate, the "Thirteen," which had been established as a Council in a previous revolution. Rienzi also had a higher ambition than simply a local uprising. He at once despatched envoys all over Italy, exhorting the people to shake off the yoke of the tyrant. At the annual Latin Festival held in St. Peter's, the canons met him on the steps chanting "*Veni Creator Spiritus*"; the provincial cities throughout the peninsula did homage to him, and even Petrarch lauded Rome's tribune as the greatest ruler of ancient or modern times.

Rienzi's head was completely turned by so much adulation; and, issuing a proclamation that Rome would resume her jurisdiction over the world, he granted citizenship to all the towns of Italy.

This zeal of the people was mainly fictitious; for, though the theories were plausible, scarcely any one was ready to respond with deeds. It was the keenness of Rienzi's prophetic insight which immortalized his name; for in his high pitch of enthusiasm he looked beyond the ages, as did Dante and Petrarch, and saw in a vast panorama before him a vision of the nation as consolidated to-day. He had not, however, the tact nor practical skill to gain over the nobles, since he would not sacrifice personal animosities to the general good; and thus he was not able to suppress the now united Guelph and Ghibelline factions of the Orsini and Colonna. These, upheld by the Pope, now weary of toleration, moved on Rome on the 30th of November from Palestrina and encamped before the city.

Rienzi called out his militia, and a hard fight ensued, in which eighty of the nobles, mostly the Colonna, were left dead upon the field. This so weakened the aristocracy that they never again attained supremacy

in the government of the republic; but the strength of Rienzi's rule was also broken. He was accused of heresy, and the people were tired of bearing the burden of his immense public and private expenses. At last after seven months he lost heart, and, finding that his forces were deserting, he retired to the Castle of St. Angelo on the 15th of December, 1347, and afterwards fled to Naples.

For two years Rienzi led a life of "mystic contemplation" in the Abruzzi, seeing visions and dreaming dreams and still believing that he was divinely appointed to set up a mighty and glorious kingdom which would redound to the honor of God and his own greatness. For seven years he wandered in disguise through the cities of Italy and among the hermits of the Apennines, until at last he threw himself on the generosity of Charles IV., and woke up to find himself a prisoner at Prague. The semi-centennial Jubilee of the Church being about to take place, every effort was made to keep peace, and in 1350 Charles IV. of Germany, before he could be crowned, was obliged to deliver up Rienzi to Pope Innocent VI. in Avignon. The Pope, thinking that it would be a popular movement, and also influenced by Petrarch's eulogies of Rienzi in verse, released him, allowing him to return as a Senator to Rome, with Cardinal Albornoz, who was sent there to arrange Church matters for the Jubilee.

Rienzi, in August, 1354, again entered the city, with five hundred soldiers, and passing through the Castello Gate took possession of the government for the second time. Having received funds for the campaign from the two brothers Fra Monreale, he sent them as captains to surround the remnant of the Colonna at

Palestrina. Unfortunately, soon after this, Fra Monreale himself was murdered; and it is suspected that Rienzi, being again short of money, instigated the deed in order to gain further supplies, though it is generally understood that Fra Monreale was plotting to kill him. The death of the latter caused so great excitement among the people that Rienzi lost his influence, and when a new taxation was agitated they rose in open revolt, and on the 8th of October stormed the Capitol, shouting "Death to the traitor."

The spell of Rienzi's magnetic presence was at last broken. When he presented himself at the window, never doubting that his eloquence would charm the people as of old, missiles were hurled at him and the palace fired. Finally, giving up all for lost, he shaved his head and in the disguise of a shepherd contemptibly tried to pass himself off as one of his own enemies, joining in cries against himself. He was recognized, however, by the golden bracelets he had forgotten to remove from his arms, and was finally struck down and repeatedly stabbed. Such was the ignominious fate of the man who had seemed destined to fill the world with his name and glory as the regenerator of Italy.

CHAPTER VI

THE VISCONTI.—THE CHIOMPI INSURRECTION IN FLOR-
ENCE.—THE BABYLONIAN CAPTIVITY OF THE POPES.—
THE GREAT SCHISM.

1349—1435 A.D.

THE VISCONTI, who first appeared about 1037, in the time of Conrad II., came upon the scene, one after another, like spectral figures, and, after exerting a baleful influence on the people of Lombardy for more than four centuries, vanished. With few vicissitudes, they had been growing more and more powerful ever since Otto, the archbishop, in 1277, seized the power from the hands of the Della Torre family, by shutting up Napoleone and five of his kinsmen in the three iron cages now seen in Como. Pagano della Torre had placed the Milanese under everlasting obligations by saving the remnant of their army after the Battle of Corte Nuova; and that family was in power ever after until, on account of democratic measures, they made themselves unpopular with the nobility, especially the Visconti.

In 1312 Matteo, a nephew of Otto, was appointed Imperial Vicar, and that same year succeeded in exterminating the last of the Torriani. Two years later Charles IV. was sent for, to check the influence of the Visconti in Lombardy. He did not prove powerful enough, however, to curb their tyranny, and from that era the decline of Imperial power in Italy was rapid. Azzo succeeded Matteo and the latter's uncle Lucchino

followed in 1339. He was murdered ten years later by his wife, and in the person of his brother, the Archbishop Giovanni, there appears one of the most notable characters of the fourteenth century. The reign of this "masterful Prelate" marks a new era in the despotism of the Visconti, who had now become self-made sovereigns with a well-established power and wide extent of territory.

The Pope, resenting the encroachments of Archbishop Giovanni, sent for him to come to Avignon. The primate replied that he would march thither with twelve thousand cavalry and six thousand infantry. He is handed down in portraits with a drawn sword in the right hand and a crosier in his left. Soon after this mandate of the Pope he thus appeared in the cathedral at Milan, where, unsheathing the flashing sword and taking the cross, he said: "This is my spiritual scepter, and I will yield it in defense of my Empire." Immediately after, he sent to Avignon to engage lodgings for his train and soldiers for six months. Although the Pope had summoned him, after this he was "fain to decline so terrible a guest."

Giovanni died in 1353, having established the rule of the Visconti over more than twenty cities of northern Italy; and there is no doubt that he aimed at the crown of the Empire. The succession fell to three sons of one Stephano: Matteo, Bernabo and Galeazzo, who shared Milan and Genoa in joint rule and divided the rest of the dominion between them. The brothers soon disposed of the dissolute Matteo and ruled together in harmony. Galeazzo, the youngest son, was distinguished as being the handsomest man of his age. He was tall and graceful, wearing his hair long and in a net, and sometimes in braids down his shoul-

ders. He spent much of his vast wealth in shows, festivals and in magnificent buildings. His prodigal tastes led him to seek royal marriages for his children, his daughter Violante marrying the Duke of Clarence, son of Edward III. He gave her as a dowry two hundred thousand florins and five cities on the frontier of Piedmont. The Duke of Clarence, when he went to espouse Violante, left the city of London, with "unpaved streets and thatched-roofed houses, to enter the luxurious marble palaces of Lombardy rising above highways smoothly paved with stone." Gian Galeazzo, the brother of Violante, with his young friends brought as gifts three score of horses with trappings of silver and gold; and there were among the presents fine cuirasses and crested helmets and coats-of-arms inlaid with precious stones and crimson cloths for raiment. The remains after the wedding feast were sufficient for ten thousand men. Galeazzo delighted in parading such wealth in the presence of the feudal nobles of the North, and in introducing as his honored guest his friend Petrarch, then the greatest literary man of Europe. His son Gian Galeazzo soon after married Isabel, daughter of the King of France, the ceremony taking place with equal splendor. Galeazzo's court was at Pavia, while his brother Bernabo reigned at Milan, and both were noted for their heartlessness and great cruelty.

Next to Archbishop Giovanni, Gian Galeazzo, who succeeded at the death of his father, Galeazzo, in 1378, was the most remarkable Visconti of them all, and his reign, which lasted until 1402, forms a distinct chapter in Italian history. Shutting himself up in Pavia, he set systematically to work to supplant his uncle Bernabo by feigning the constitutional physical timidity of

the race, at the same time pretending to be a religious enthusiast. This led his uncle and cousins to regard him almost as an imbecile, and accordingly easily disposed of. Thus, when in 1385 Gian Galeazzo declared his intention of making a pilgrimage to Varese, and started out from Pavia with a bodyguard of Germans, his uncles with his sons unsuspectingly came forth to meet him near Milan. Pretending to welcome them, his German troopers, at a signal, took them all prisoners, and Gian Galeazzo, after poisoning them, proclaimed himself Lord of the Visconti.

Gian Galeazzo was devoted alike to business and pleasure, never, however, neglecting the former for the latter; and under him the Visconti reached the summit of their greatness. He associated with men of letters, and to a great degree led an intellectual life. It was he who built the magnificently beautiful Certosa di Pavia, earlier noted as a Carthusian monastery, now a museum sustained by the State; and in order further to gratify his taste for splendor, Gian Galeazzo founded the Cathedral at Milan. He also finished the palace at Pavia which his father had begun, and revived the University there. Among other large engineering projects he devised a plan for turning the Mincio and Brenta from their channels in order to dry the lagoons of Venice, thus hoping to bring the Lion of St. Mark's to his feet.

With all his great conceptions, no minor details were too small for Gian Galeazzo's attention. He inaugurated a system of paid clerks and secretaries of departments, having his ledgers kept with as great exactness, and his correspondence as carefully filed and copied, as business men of the present day. His wealth enabled him to keep in his service the chief condot-

tieri, whom he pensioned. In this way a great impulse was given to the false military system which did so much harm in Italy. The disputes of his neighbors gave him vast opportunities to extend his power. The only cities which dared to contend with him were Florence and Venice. In an alliance with the Venetians he crushed the Della Scala family in Verona and the Carrara in Padua, the d'Este in Ferrara, and the Gonzago in Mantua. The whole of Lombardy soon became prostrate before this Milanese despot, the name of "Great Serpent" being given to the tyrants of the Visconti, in allusion to the idea of the great viper absorbing all the smaller snakes. Yet like the rest of his family, Gian Galeazzo was physically timid, the least unexpected sound almost throwing him into convulsions. Accordingly he was always taking the strictest measures against assassination.

Gian Galeazzo was the first Duke of Milan. Seven years before his death he bought the title from Emperor Wencelaus for one hundred thousand florins, Pavia alone not being included in the Duchy, since he was made only the Count of Pavia. Afterwards he forced Ruprecht, the successor of Wencelaus, who came down to seize his vast possessions, to retire again across the Alps. Nothing could have prevented this ruthless potentate from obtaining the sovereignty of the whole of Italy, for which he was aiming, had not the plague cut off his treacherous career. In 1402 he retired to his island fortress of Marignano in order to escape its ravages. As he was dying, at the age of fifty-four, he pointed to a comet in the sky, saying, that God could but thus signalize the approaching end of so supreme a ruler.

From his armchair in Milan, Gian Galeazzo had

trained a band of commanders to carry out his plans. Nevertheless, at his death, his children being minors, his kingdom quickly fell to pieces. His son Giovanni Maria succeeded him in 1412, but soon fell a victim to his own cruelty, being assassinated by his nobles. Filippo Maria, the latter's brother, reigned thirty-five years, which era covered many wars and much brutal bloodshed. He was the last in the male line of the Visconti. He married the widow of Facino Cane, who possessed great wealth, and, having used her money, he had her beheaded on a false charge. He, like Charles V., is said to have been outwitted by his own cunning, often defeating his aims at the point of achievement by his own duplicity.

At this era the Scotti, the Correggi, and the Malatesta held sway at Piacenza, Cremona and Brescia, respectively. The little State of Romagna was overrun by the Count of Barbiano, who, with his famous Free Company, entered the service of Boniface IX. The Count of Savoy, the Marquis of Montferrat, and the Lords of Padua, Ferrara and Mantua profited by the late reverses of the Visconti, and soon after the beginning of the fifteenth century were the only independent sovereigns of northern Italy, since finally Francesco di Carrara was forced to yield to the Venetians and was strangled by the order of the Council of Ten.

While Milan had been usurping the Lombard principalities under the Visconti, Genoa and Venice had established large factories along the Black Sea, in which they prepared spices and merchandise brought from India; and for the next half century these two cities fought many battles, first the Venetians gaining the victory, and then the Genoese. Gunpowder had now begun to be used on the field of battle, and did

much more effective work than the old weapons. One of the worst fights between the two cities took place in January, 1352, when the Venetian galleys met the Genoese in the Bosphorus near Constantinople, greatly outnumbering them, and causing fearful slaughter in their ranks. The Venetian fleet was almost annihilated and four or five thousand were slain on both sides. All the Dukes of Lombardy, worn out by the despotism of the Visconti, now united with Venice as his common enemy against Genoa, then a fief of the Duke; but finally all parties were obliged to appeal to Charles IV., who for a time catered to everybody in order to secure the Iron Crown of Lombardy. But Genoa after three years came under the power of the Visconti.

The residence of the Popes at Avignon, called the Babylonian Captivity, beginning in 1305, lasted until 1375. Seven Popes in succession resided there in opulence and voluptuous splendor, until the north of France was overrun by King Edward III.'s troops, and the Free Companies in their restless wanderings in search of booty had penetrated as far as the Valley of Vacluse. Then Urban V., alarmed, and influenced by Charles IV. of Germany, decided to return with the Papal Court to Rome, where he remained three years, greatly magnifying Papal grandeur. But there was no repose in Rome, since Charles IV., by his active diplomacy, was keeping Italy as well as Germany in a ferment, and all the various factions were at never-ending war with each other. Accordingly Urban V. returned to Avignon, and his successor, Gregory XI., died as he was about to restore the Papal residence again to Rome; and the Cardinals now met to choose his successor.

The famous schism, which desolated Europe for forty years, had already begun; and, since the French and Spanish Cardinals were in the majority, the people feared that a foreign pontiff might be elected. Accordingly thirty magistrates were chosen, delegated to represent the wishes of the people in the Sacred College. The Cardinals, however, silenced the magistrates by telling them that they must not meddle, since the matter was a subject properly under the guidance of the Holy Spirit; but the people were not satisfied with this, and assumed the responsibility themselves, surrounding the Vatican and haranguing the Council, telling them that they should hold that body as surety that an Italian Pope would be elected. The Archbishop of Bari was soon chosen as Urban VI., and the populace was satisfied; but when he, as Pope, decided that no one outside of Italy could take part in Church government, the Holy See revoked their decree and elected Clement VII. as anti-Pope, the real Clement VII. coming two centuries later.

Spain and Sicily adhered to the anti-Pope, while England, Germany, Hungary and Portugal, together with Italy, supported Urban VI., both Popes proving equally obnoxious. The latter established himself at Rome with nineteen Italian Cardinals, while Clement VII. retired to Avignon with most of the old Cardinals.

Urban VI., who had caused the schism in the Church, died in 1389. After two other Popes had passed away, Gregory XII. was chosen as the Roman candidate; and upon the death of the anti-Pope, Clement VII., the Cardinals of Avignon chose Benedict XIII. in his place as anti-Pope. The Cardinals refused to recognize either, and, though everybody connected with the Church was chagrined at the quarrel,

they summoned both Popes to appear at a General Council at Pisa. When the two Popes resisted the decrees of these Cardinals, together with the prelates and ambassadors from all parts of the Christian world, the Council deposed both Gregory XII. and Benedict XIII., electing Alexander V. Benedict XIII. then called a Council at Perpignan, a gloomy fortress on the frontier of Spain, while Gregory XII. rallied his forces at Ravenna and Alexander V. established himself in Rome, all sending out Bulls of Excommunication among the rulers of Europe according to their different prejudices.

While these ecclesiastical dissensions were going on, Braccio da Montone, the great leader, and the peasant warrior, Sforza Attendolo, fought respectively for Florence and for Naples, where Ladislaus, the son of Charles Durazza was then at the height of his power. Florence, in order to defeat Ladislaus, desired a universally acknowledged Pope. Accordingly, Braccio da Montone, acting in her behalf, entered Rome and forced the people to acknowledge Alexander V. In a short time, however, the latter died, and Pope John XXIII., who succeeded him, called upon Emperor Sigismund to assist in the conflict; and when Ladislaus, an important factor in the controversy, was struck down at the Battle of Roccasceca, Sigismund determined to put an end to the scandal of the schism. He forced John XXIII. to call together all the clergymen in Christendom at Constance in 1415; but the latter, finding that all the Popes were about to be deposed, fled in the disguise of a groom; and Gregory XII. also was glad to give up the keys of St. Peter's and compromise for the office of Cardinal, while Benedict XIII., after being sustained by Spain for awhile,

was obliged to retire. The three rival Popes having thus been put aside, Otto Colonna assumed the title of Pope Martin V., and with him the schism was nominally ended. This was the Council in which John Huss and Jerome of Prague were condemned to death and burned. Eugene IV. followed Martin V., and then came the strong Nicholas V., who took his place among the first of the temporal powers of Italy.

When the sun rose upon the fifteenth century the horizon of Italy was obscured in clouds. Lombardy was almost entirely absorbed by the Visconti, Naples was worn out with civil war, and, as has been seen, the Papal power was at a minimum. These were days of treachery and crime.

During the time these Church quarrels were going on Venice held sway from St. Mark's to the Adige, and her flag floated from her strongholds in Treviso to Feltro, and over Belluno, Verona, Vincenza to Padua. In 1378 Venice and Genoa had their last serious encounter at Chioggia, where they fought fiercely about the possession of Cyprus. Genoa blockaded this channel twenty-five miles south of Venice at the end of the Southern Lagoon. The Venetian fleet was destroyed in the encounter, and the republic was in great danger. This was when the Genoese leader, Luciano Doria, boasted that he would bridle the bronze horses of St. Mark's. The consternation became so overwhelming that Vittorio Pisani, who had been imprisoned on account of the loss of the fleet, begged the chance to save his ungrateful country, and was released. Carlo Zeno, in the Levant, heard of the disaster, and coming to the aid of Pisani, blockaded the Genoese in the port they had seized, and at the end of six months forced them to surrender. The

war was not finished until the treaty of Turin in 1381. Venice was obliged to give up Dalmatia and Treviso for the time; but she soon became as powerful as ever. Genoa, on the contrary, never regained the commercial prestige then lost, and in 1396 came under the power of Charles VI. of France.

As far back as 1309 Bernabo Visconti had made war on Florence, which was supported for awhile by Urban V. and then by Gregory XI. It was at this time that Sir John Hawkwood, the condottieri leader of the so-called White Company, came over, at first for the purpose of helping the Pisans. Afterwards, however, the Florentines made an alliance with Pisa and other Ghibelline powers, the management of the war being given to eight commissioners called the "Eight of War," who won such popularity by their able conduct that they were derisively called the "Eight Saints of War." Sir John Hawkwood, by his efforts in behalf of the whole combination, enabled them to successfully carry on the struggle against the Guelphs. Long afterwards, in 1378, Hawkwood assisted Florence when Gian Galeazzo Visconti tried to gain the ascendancy over her; and the strife did not end until the death of Gian Galeazzo in 1402. Hawkwood is buried in the Cathedral at Florence.

Salvestro di Medici, who aimed to upset the extreme Guelph faction led by the Albizzi and Soderini, was chosen Gonfaloniere in 1378, while the moderate Guelph party consisted of the "Eight of War," the Ricci and a large vacillating element who were not satisfied with the party in power. Salvestro hunted up some old archives which were hostile to the rule of the nobles, and though unsuccessful in the Council of the Arts, in the General Council of the peo-

ple he was popular; and accordingly he was able to drive the governing faction with their ill-gotten power to the wall. What is called the "Insurrection of the Chiompi" ensued. The latter was a class of workmen who belonged neither to the fourteen Greater Arts or Guilds nor to the seven Lesser Arts, but who with the other unorganized citizens were only called together in Parliament at the tolling of the great bell. These artisans plotted to place the two Arts on an equal footing, and originated, in addition, Arts of their own. When the conspiracy was discovered the people broke out into a riot and placed the standard of the Gonfaloniere in the hands of one Michele di Lando, who, barefooted, mounted the stairs of the Palace of the Signoria, declaring that he would place the building and the whole city in the hands of the mob. He appointed his own priors, two from the Greater, two from the Lesser and two from the New Arts he had given the people; and in spite of the Eight of War, who wanted Lando to work through them, he kept the artisans quiet until he went out of office. His successors, however, lacked his strength; and accordingly, in 1382, the Guelph aristocracy called for a "Balìa," which was afterwards a very frequent demand, and consisted of a committee chosen by the people with full power to change the Constitution. This committee repealed all the measures just passed. In spite of this the Lesser Guilds had gained some ground and Salvestro di Medici, the real leader, had obtained the great popularity for which he was aiming.

CHAPTER VII

RISE OF THE MEDICI.—THE SFORZA FAMILY.—NICHOLAS V.—THE AGE OF INVASION.—SAVONAROLA.

1435—1494 A.D.

THE power in Florence fell into the hands of the Guelphs soon after the Chiompi Insurrection, and Rinaldo Albizzi held the reins of government. But powerful rivals were at hand. Salvestro di Medici had a brother, Giovanni, and from the latter sprung the noted Medici family, commencing with his son Cosimo. The foundation of the future Medici greatness was laid by the wonderful ability of this man, who surrounded himself by scholars, and gained great popularity by spending freely his immense self-acquired fortune. The Albizzi, bent on his ruin, finally shut him up in the tower of the old Palazzo Vecchio. This step so aroused the people that, as in all extraordinary events, the great bell tolled and the gates of the Palace were forced open. Then the Signoria and Gonfaloniere came forth with the College of the Arts, and, all uniting, demanded a Balìa. As it proved, this committee sided with the Albizzi, who, trembling for fear of Cosimo's return to power, greatly desired to slay him. In spite of this, however, he was only banished; and, as the Albizzi had apprehended, the following year, a change coming about in the city government, Cosimo came back. This time the Balìa decided against the Albizzi, and they in turn were

banished, while Cosimo was raised again to supreme power; and this continued for more than a century in the family of the Medici.

The Albizzi enlisted Filippo Maria Visconti; and the Florentines were several times defeated by him, until the Venetians came to their aid, assisted by Francesco Comagnola.

Comagnola was a Piedmontese, and one of the ablest military officers of the day, as well as one of the most humane of the condottieri commanders. He had won back for Filippo Maria Visconti all the small sovereignties which had been lost at the death of his father, Gian Galeazzo. Afterwards, however, having been accused of treachery by Filippo Maria, he went over to the Venetians, for whom he gained important victories. But, being defeated near Cremona in the great battle at Soncino by Francesco Sforza, whom at one time he had given his liberty, he became disheartened and remained so inactive that his loyalty was questioned. In 1432 he was called to Venice and suddenly thrown into prison, where he was tortured for several weeks before being taken out and beheaded between two columns in front of the Doge Palace. Though instigated by the Council of Ten, it was an impolitic movement, since Duke Filippo no longer cared to make peace with the Venetians after his powerful enemy Comagnola was dead. It was on the ruins of the latter's career that Francesco Sforza climbed up to greatness.

Pope Eugenius was forced by Filippo Maria Visconti to flee from Rome and take refuge with Cosimo di Medici and his party in Florence. These were fast crushing out Duke Filippo Maria, when the latter enticed Francesco Sforza, who was then in the Pope's

employ, to his side, by giving him his daughter Bianca in marriage.

The father of Francesco was the great general Atondolo Sforza. He was originally a peasant of Cotignola, who received the name of Sforza from his physical strength. When invited to enlist, he threw his ax into an oak and cried: "If it stay there, it will be a sign that my fortune is made." The ax stuck in the tree, and Sforza went forth to found a line of dukes. While his friend Braccio di Montone introduced the solid phalanx, Sforza still held to the old method of detached bodies of cavalry. In 1409 these two great captains separated, and as distinct companies, were known as the Sforzesi and the Bracconesi. They carried on all the wars of Italy for the next twenty years. Finding that to defeat each other was disastrous to the respective causes, they adopted the plan of checkmating. At their deaths in 1424 Braccio was succeeded by Nicholas Piccinini, and Sforza, as has been seen, by his son Francesco, these two in their turn being the chief captains of Italy and the ablest generals of their day.

Although Francesco Sforza married the Duke of Milan's daughter, his father-in-law did not favor him greatly, since he was too ambitious and interfered with the latter's power. Accordingly when Filippo Maria died in 1447, leaving no legitimate heirs in the male line, he bequeathed his dominions to Alphonso of Naples. Though one party upheld Sforza in the right of his wife, the greater number desired no duke; and Milan was organized into a republic, her example being followed by Pavia, Como, Alessandria and all the cities which had been subject to the Visconti. This lasted three years, until Milan was finally inveigled

into appointing Sforza as commander-in-chief against the Venetians, who were pushing their power westward. In one brilliant campaign Sforza drove the Venetians back, burned their fleet, and defeated their army. Then, although some of the citizens said they would rather become subjects even of Venice, than to fall into Sforza's hands, after treacherously making peace with that nation, Sforza reduced the surrounding cities and forced Milan in 1450 to receive him as their duke. His cruel son, Galeazzo Sforza, succeeded him in 1466; and under the latter Milan and Genoa suffered greatly for many years.

At this time the four great powers of Italy were the King of Naples, the Duke of Milan and the republics of Venice and Florence. Soon after, another mighty influence gained great advantage in Italy. It was the temporal power of the Pope. Had Florence and Venice at this time upheld the faction in Milan and Genoa who desired a republican government there would have been four dominating commonwealths to resist foreign interference, so that they might have maintained the freedom of one consolidated republic. But Cosimo di Medici, who was then just commencing his despotism in Florence, preferred to see a duke in Milan; and the Foscari in Venice thought only of territorial extension.

The captivity of Avignon, which had nominally ended at the Council of Constance, had well-nigh extinguished the influence of the Popes. Æneas Sylvius, however, the secretary of Emperor Frederick III., and a very learned, diplomatic, and versatile character, gained the ascendancy at the Council of Basle, and arranged things so that Pope Eugenius was enabled to triumph in that body. He also later secured the

election of Nicholas V., during whose rule the schism really ended in 1448.

The reign of Nicholas V. opened an era of temporal splendor, which is said to have ushered in the Renaissance; and this ended with the establishment of the Popes as sovereigns in Rome, a position they held up to the time of the present government. Nicholas V. had been tutor in the house of the Albizzi while only Thomas of Sarzana, and afterwards he was engaged as librarian of the Medici in Florence. Though humbly born, he imbibed the culture of the era and became a distinguished humanist. He was a peacemaker and promoted education, and as Pope he was without a rival in the Church. After the advent of the Greeks in Italy, before the taking of Constantinople by the Infidels under Mohammed II. in 1453, the zeal for Greek was revived, and Rome became the center of Greek culture. Nicholas V. encouraged art by rebuilding churches and palaces, and he also strengthened the city with fortifications. It was he who first conceived the idea of the prospective magnificence of the St. Peter's of to-day; and he refashioned the Vatican Palace, collecting manuscript and archives to found the famous Vatican Library. The invention of printing in his time also helped the progress of learning.

In 1452, when Pope Nicholas had crowned Frederick III. with great ceremony at Rome, a large number of republican Romans, displeased at this, and his general assumption of power, formed a conspiracy to assassinate the whole Papal court, plunder the Vatican and, by setting up a government of their own, free the city from ecclesiastical bondage. This audacious and bloodthirsty plot was discovered, however, and

thwarted, and this was the last attempt of Rome to establish a free government.

In 1454 Nicholas V. was the means of bringing about the Peace of Lodi, in which Venice, Milan, Florence and Alphonso of Naples united for the purpose of withstanding the Turks. A year after, in 1455, Nicholas V. died, and Æneas Sylvius was chosen Pope with the title of Pius II. In 1464 he also died while preaching a denunciatory sermon against the Turks. In 1477 a large Turkish army, after desolating the coast of Italy as far as the Piavre, defeated the Venetians, their proceedings being watched from the Campanile of St. Mark's. The Turks also took possession of the Black Sea, depriving Genoa of all her possessions and influence there. The depredations of the Turks at this time were only stopped by the death of Mohammed II.

The rise of the House of Medici in Florence is one of the most absorbing events in Italian history. Cosimo di Medici, after his return in September, 1434, from banishment in Venice, executed his power with remarkable wisdom and tact. He adorned Florence with the finest architecture and founded the Pitti and Uffizi galleries, which still attract millions of people from all lands. Under his supervision the dome of the Cathedral was built by Brunelleschi, and Masaccio painted and embellished churches and chapels, afterwards models for Michelangelo and other great artists. Cosimo encouraged literature in every possible manner, keeping many scholars busy collecting manuscript to adorn the Medici library. From this era, for three centuries, the history of Florence is connected with the House of Medici.

Neri Capponi was another great statesman. It was

said of the two men, if Cosimo was the wealthiest, Neri was the wisest. These autocrats, when afraid of any opposition, called a Parliament and had a Balia appointed for five years; and thus they were able to secure the election of their own party, as in the case mentioned against the Albizzi.

The splendor and refinement of Cosimo Medici's taste enriched the State; and, though his rule abridged the liberties of Florence, the material prosperity of the city was sustained. His death in 1464 left only one son, Pietro, who did nothing except burden the Italian people with his debts. He quarreled with Luca Pitti, a most formidable enemy, and soon died from his dissipations in 1469, leaving two sons, Lorenzo and Giuliano.

The Medici were not, at this period, absolute despots like the Visconti; but they were no longer simply a great family, as they had been in the time of Salvestro. Although they used their power for the good of the city, they did it by drawing from the public treasury in the interest of their own house. The Popes of this epoch were striving for dominion, not in order to enlarge the Holy See, but for the purpose of making their sons and nephews Italian princes. Sixtus IV. therefore entertained a violent hatred for the Medici, since Lorenzo was opposing his attempt to establish his nephew in Romagna; and, in sympathy with the old Greek and Roman ethics, he felt that nothing was a crime which would rid the State of tyrants.

Accordingly Sixtus IV. concocted a scheme of assassination which was so gigantic and far-reaching that it involved at least one hundred persons, among them Sixtus' nephew and grandnephew, the Riario, Francesco Salviati and the Archbishop of Pisa, while even

the odious King Ferdinand of Naples is said to have abetted the scheme. The conspiracy was called after the Pazzi family, who were the foremost in the plot. They instigated it because, though among the richest and noblest of Florence, they had been kept out of office by Lorenzo di Medici and excluded from the right of succession to the Borromeo property. This was according to Lorenzo's policy, which was to put down the wealthy and raise up people of no consequence, over whom his influence would be paramount.

During a Church celebration in Florence the two brothers Giuliano and Lorenzo di Medici were invited to a feast to be given by Jacopo di Pazzi on Sunday, April 26, 1478. But the conspirators found out that for some reason or other Giuliano would not be at the banquet, and not daring to postpone the assassination, the date of which was known to so many, they decided to commit the deed at once at service in the Cathedral. Francesco di Pazzi and Bernardo Bandini were the ecclesiastics chosen to kill Giuliano, and it was arranged that Giovanni Battista was to murder Lorenzo; but he hesitated to commit the sacrilege of slaying his friend in church. Accordingly two priests, Antonio and Stephano, who comprehended sacred things better, undertook the task. After reaching the church, and finding that Giuliano was not there, Pazzi and Bandini went to his house, and in a playful manner accompanied him to the service, at the same time ascertaining that he was unarmed. An immense crowd enabled the assassins to get behind their intended victim without attracting attention; and as the little bell sounded when the Host was lifted up, and all were kneeling in the presence of God, Bernardo stabbed Giuliano to the heart, and Francesco di

Pazzi pierced him many times with a dagger. Antonio and Stephano only succeeded in slightly wounding Lorenzo, and were afterwards found in hiding, and slain.

Francesco di Pazzi having been disabled, the aged Jacopo, who had prepared the feast, gathered a few followers before the Palazzo Vecchio crying out: "Liberty and the People." The people, however, were too hoodwinked by the wiles of the Medici to comprehend that their freedom had already been taken away, and they immediately arose against the conspirators, instantaneously cutting down more than seventy in the street. They hung the Archbishop of Saviati in his priestly robes outside his own window, and placed Francesco di Pazzi by his side on the gallows. Two hundred more were put to death indiscriminately. All this was done at the instigation of Lorenzo, and has come down in history as the "Pazzi Massacre," just as the conspiracy is called "The Pazzi Conspiracy."

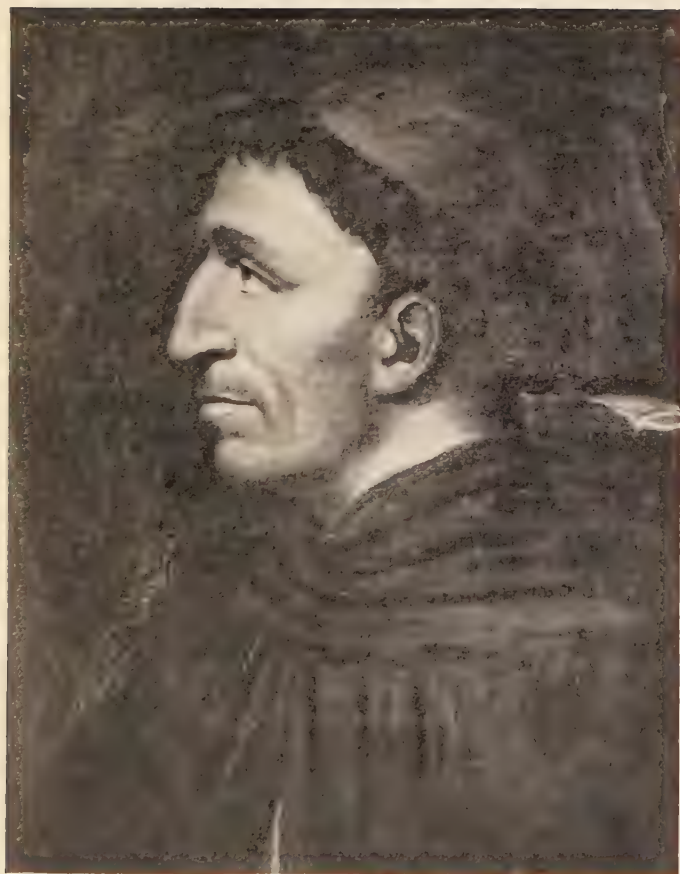
Lorenzo di Medici was conveyed in safety to his palace, and a special police force was posted in his grounds. His power was now strengthened by the sympathy of the citizens, and from this time he assumed a more sumptuous style than ever. He called round him a crowd of literary men, whom he maintained, and who sustained him in his pride. The title "Magnificent," which familiarizes us with him, does no more than justice to his character, and although this magnificence was entirely egoistical and supported at the public expense, he made the people feel prosperous, and they were contented. No longer disguising his part in the plot to assassinate Lorenzo, Sixtus excommunicated the whole duchy of Florence

which in turn appealed to the rest of Italy for support in a general council of the Tuscan clergy.

Ludovico Sforza, son of Francesco Sforza, and the cruel Galeazzo's brother, had been banished from Milan by the latter's widow, Bona of Savoy, sister-in-law of Louis XI., because he had tried to wrest the power from her. Now, however, he returned to Milan and usurped the duchy in place of his nephew, a boy of twelve years, the son of Bona of Savoy. He then united with Louis XI. in an alliance with Lorenzo. Sixtus IV. also was obliged to come to terms with all parties in 1480, when he saw that the Turks were threatening Rome. But he made one more attempt against the general peace by trying to get Ferrara for his nephew, Cardinal Riario. The Pope's captain in these great wars was Federico, Duke of Urbino, a man distinguished not only for his skill in warfare, but for his culture, justice and uprightness of life.

Sixtus IV., chagrined at the failure of all his plans, died in the year 1484. It was he who built the wonderful Sistine Chapel and named it after himself. The constructing of the Vatican was begun in the early part of the Christian era, and had continued up to the time of Charlemagne, who is said at one time to have resided in one of the courts of the Church of St. Peter's. The Popes from the time of Eugenius IV. had again taken up this work of culture and splendid architecture, which they continued for several centuries.

Innocent VIII., the successor of Sixtus IV., was elected by the influence of Ferdinand of Naples, and though they soon quarreled, Lorenzo di Medici finally brought about a reconciliation between them after he himself had pacified the Pope by marrying his



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own daughter to one of the Pope's natural sons. Through this union he raised the Medici family to the highest position of ecclesiastical grandeur, since His Holiness now named Giovanni, the son of Lorenzo, then but thirteen years old, Cardinal; and this boy, afterwards Leo X., was the most renowned pontiff of the Vatican.

In spite of the many internal dissensions, the period between 1480 and 1492 was a time of general prosperity in Italy; for the three leading men in the nation, King Ferdinand, Ludovico Sforza and Lorenzo di Medici, were anxious to be in harmony, desiring to work together in order to check the growth of Venice and to profit by the periodical embroilments of the other powers.

During this epoch a great deal of land was brought under cultivation, manufactures flourished, and the country grew populous and increased in wealth. The Italian peasantry were better housed, clothed and fed than men of the same rank in other countries and a sense of security pervaded the land. Although Italian art and literature were also in a flourishing condition at this era, the luxury and tyranny engendered by the Medici had enervated the people and lessened their virtues and self-respect.

One Dominican monk, Girolamo Savonarola, fought against this influence. He began to preach in 1489, and so great was the desire to hear him that women and children would rise in the night to gain their places. They came with the same rejoicing to listen to his sermons with which they would go forth to a wedding or to a play, making no account of standing on cold marble pavements in the chill of winter. Savonarola thundered in awful tones against the vices

of society and the sins of the people, and foretold the terrible punishment which awaited such a course of life. The Florentines were held spellbound by the simple eloquence of a preacher who scorned all "tradition of oratory, and literary style" and swept everything before him by his earnestness and warmth of feeling. In looking upon his glowing countenance, the imagination of all was kindled. Some believed that they saw an angel on either side of him as he preached; and others thought the Madonna herself stood above him in glory, blessing him with uplifted hands while he pronounced a benediction on the multitude.

The "Magnifico" feared Savonarola's influence, yet was attracted by him, and sought him out at the monastery of St. Mark's; but he could not gain his confidence, for Savonarola felt that any degree of sympathy with this luxurious though affable tyrant would fetter him in his mission of helping the people.

Savonarola was of a fervid temperament, believed in special revelations, and dreamed dreams. He gained an especial power over the people by his ability to foretell the leading events of the times—the advent of the French King, the fall of the Medici, the reign of Clement VII. and like great disasters.

Lorenzo di Medici died in 1492. He was one of the most illustrious men handed down in history; and, in spite of a few rash acts of cruelty, the moral beauty of his character and his ennobling taste would seem lofty even in the most advanced epochs of a pure and unsullied state of society. It was through the patronage extended by him to all scholars and artists that the way was prepared for that most brilliant epoch in Italian history which came about in the suc-

cession of his son, and was called the "Golden Age of Leo X."

Just before Lorenzo died his fascination for Savonarola revived, and he summoned him from St. Mark's to hear his last confession, because he knew that the great divine would not fear to tell him the truth. The illustrious preacher refused to come, saying: "We could not agree"; but Lorenzo sent back the messenger with a promise to accede to everything.

The prior was led to the luxurious chamber where Lorenzo lay dying in the prime of his days, surrounded by all that he loved, yet hopeless and helpless, and tormented by the memory of the wrongs which he had committed. He confided to his confessor that there were three things which troubled his soul—the atrocious Sack of the Volterra, the Murder of the Orphans and the Massacre of the Pazzi. Savonarola told the penitent that, first, he must have a living faith that God would pardon him; and Lorenzo told him that he could have that faith. Secondly: he must restore everything wrongfully acquired so far as lay in his power, only leaving to his children as much as would maintain them as private citizens. Lorenzo was maddened at this thought, but finally he said he would also do this. In addition to all the rest, the great prelate told him that he must restore freedom and a popular republican government to Florence. Then the great Magnificent turned his face to the wall and said not another word; upon which the prior went away without granting him absolution.

Savonarola afterwards said that he grieved greatly because he had not allowed himself to become acquainted with Lorenzo sooner; for he believed that through the grace of God the distinguished ruler then

might have found salvation, "since he had never before known a man so well endowed with all the natural graces." Lorenzo died at forty-four in the splendor of his prosperity; and Florence, where to-day one cannot look in any direction without gazing upon the work of some man's genius, is filled with the spirit of the Medici in its churches, galleries, streets and squares, as well as in the beautiful Medici Chapel erected as a monument to the family name. Lorenzo left three sons, Pietro who succeeded him, Giovanni (Leo X.) and Giuliano.

Innocent VIII. died nearly at the same time as Lorenzo, just as the "anarchy of the Feudal Ages was giving place to the renown of the Renaissance." But for Italy the Age of Invasion followed, and England, France, Spain and Austria for many years "menaced this disunited State by the consolidation of their gigantic power."

The year after Innocent VIII. died, Roderigo Borgia had gained by bribery his election as Pope under the name of Alexander VI. He used his power almost entirely to forward ambitious schemes in behalf of his children, Cæsar and Lucretia. These two exceeded their father in the insolence of their vices, their falseness and cruelty, so that the name of Borgia has been handed down as a synonym of vice.

CHAPTER VIII

AGE OF INVASION.—COMING OF CHARLES VIII.—SPANISH POSSESSION OF NAPLES.—THE EXPULSION OF LUDOVICO SFORZA.—SAVONAROLA'S DEATH.—PEACE OF CAMBREY.—ART AND LITERATURE.

1494—1553 A.D.

FOR several years after the death of Lorenzo, Savonarola was the real ruler of Florence, and at the time of the French invasion determined the politics of the city, and with the aid of Piero Capponi guided the State through the critical period. He relieved the starving populace within the walls, opened shops for the unemployed, reduced the taxes, and administered justice in every possible way, at the same time exhorting all men to put their trust in God. The laws and edicts of this period are said to read like paraphrases of Savonarola's sermons. He warded off a revolution, not only by keeping the people quiet, but by frightening the King of France with prophecies, so that the latter left the city free from his depredations. The Great Council which followed, giving the people their rights, was also the work of Savonarola. After the fall of the Medici the Florentines, influenced by Savonarola's teachings, abjured their vanities and follies, leading a life of humility and repentance. Hymns and psalms rang in the streets, in place of loud songs which had so recently been heard, while men and women dressed with Puritan simplicity; and husbands and wives even quitted their homes for life in convents; for Savonarola's reign is said to have been a "kind of

heavenly despotism," short, but far-reaching in its influence. Although he preached eight years, from the year 1489, without interruption, his real rule over Florence commenced in 1491, and he reached the climax of his greatness in 1495.

It was in 1492, after Alexander VI. was Pope, that, during the delivery of one of his forcible sermons, he heard supernatural voices portending the wrath of God, and he saw the celebrated vision recorded on contemporary medals and engravings symbolizing his doctrine. In it a hand appeared bearing a flaming sword and voices were heard proclaiming mercy to the faithful, and vengeance to the guilty. Then the sword bent towards the earth, and the sky darkened, thunder pealed and lightning flashed and the world was visited by famine, bloodshed and pestilence. It was the disturbance his sermons caused which influenced Pietro di Medici to have him removed from Florence; and it was while he was preaching in Bologna that the rebuke to the wife of Bentivoglio, the ruler there, for interrupting divine service by her noisy entrance, came near costing him his life. Assassins were sent to kill him in his cell; but, awed by Savonarola's words, they fled in terror from the convent. At the close of his last sermon in Bologna he fearlessly announced the day and hour of his departure; and then he started out barefoot on his lonely journey over the Apennines.

After a time, when the Florentines no longer feared Charles VIII. and were free from the shadow of the Pisan War, the people began to long for their old gayeties, and heeded less and less the great prior's teachings. In 1495 a Papal brief summoned Savonarola to Rome, and in September another, and then a

third. Just after he preached one of his most exciting sermons, Alexander VI. united St. Mark's to another division of the Dominican order, and thus abridged Savonarola's influence, which had been supreme over the monasteries. As early as 1497 the Arabbiati and the Medici party united, and on Ascension Day Savonarola was insulted and a Bull of Excommunication was hurled against him. That same year he was forbidden to preach in his own convent, and again summoned to Rome, his touching farewell sermon being delivered in 1498.

Although Alexander was determined that Savonarola should meet his death in Rome, the Signoria insisted that he should die in the presence of the Florentines. A trap was laid for him and a challenge given by Francesco di Pagano to prove the truth of his doctrine by the celebrated "Ordeal of Fire." Everything was ready for the experiment, and Savonarola is said to have been almost assured of his triumph in the issue; but there was delay and the authorities finally put a stop to the proceedings. His enemies after this pushed their advantage, and, having imprisoned him, tortured him for three successive days. As a result of his ascetic life he was too weak physically to endure the torment, and in his delirium he would promise to recant, saying and doing things based on which the records were falsified, and statements and signatures forged; but when unbound he would reassert his views, crying out: "My God, I denied thee for fear of pain." This vacillating course gave the Florentine Signoria a chance to claim that he who had swayed Florence for years was not only a false prophet, but had used his unusual abilities for his own advancement and vainglory.

On May 22, 1498, final sentence was passed. That night, as Savonarola lay asleep in his cell, his head resting on the shoulder of his confessor, the guard noticed a smile playing over his wan features, and asked what it was that he saw. Waking a little, Savonarola replied: "I hear the sound of falling chains." This was no doubt a vision, which came to him in his dreams, of the disenthralment of future ages from the shackles of ecclesiastical error and bigotry, of which his martyrdom was the beginning.

The next morning, the 23d of May, the execution took place, in which Savonarola and his companions were first hanged and then burned. When the bishop read the formula, "I separate you from the Church Militant and the Church Triumphant," Savonarola cried: "Not from the Church Triumphant, that is beyond thy power!" Then he was suspended on the center beam of the cross, erected on the spot where the great fountain near the Palazzo Vecchio now gushes forth, and the pile was fired. At dusk the remains of Savonarola and his two fellow-victims were thrown into the Arno.

During the year and a half after the death of Lorenzo di Medici his eldest son Pietro held a tottering sway in Florence. Meanwhile Ludovico Sforza, Duke of Milan, became anxious lest Alphonso, son of Ferdinand I. of Naples, should take up the cause of his nephew, Gian Galeazzo Sforza, Alphonso's son-in-law, whose power Ludovico, as has been seen, had wrested from him when he returned from exile. Ludovico, therefore, having made an alliance with the Pope and Venetians for mutual support, sought in vain to form, in addition, an Italian confederation composed of Florence, Rome and the Duke of Ferrara. Accord-

ingly, as a final resort, Ludovico invited Charles VIII. of France to invade Italy and take Naples.

King Ferdinand, when he heard that the French were coming, tried to make terms with Sforza, who, not wishing to come to an open quarrel, on account of the revolts in his duchy, put him off until he was sure of the French king. But Ferdinand died, and his son Alphonso, who succeeded him, was more obnoxious to everybody than his father had been.

The coming of the French into Italy was the beginning of an era of foreign invasion and despotism. Charles VIII. marched through Savoy, Piedmont and Tuscany, and entered Florence on one of the days when Savonarola was delivering his most powerful sermon in the Cathedral. He halted here because he could not advance further until he had made sure of the action of that city. The people were most anxious to get rid of Pietro di Medici, Piero Capponi saying that "it was time to put an end to this baby government." In view of this, the authorities were inclined to treat the king well, housing him and his suite for eleven days in the deserted palace of the Medici, from which the family had fled at his approach.

Pietro had at first tried to propitiate Charles VIII., going out to meet him, surrendering Sarzana, and promising to give up Pisa, Leghorn and other places, and to advance the king a large sum of money. His overtures, however, being disregarded, he attempted to make himself master of the town, and assembled his guard before the Palazzo Vecchio; but the city had strong forces hidden, and as the great bell tolled the soldiers poured forth as if from the ground, and the people gathered from their shops and stalls crying: "Popolo! Liberta!" It was then that Pietro fled

through the gates never to return. Pisa, that for almost a century had been in subjection to Florence, now entreated the French to gain back liberty for her; and Charles took their part. Notwithstanding this, however, the Florentines, then completely under the sway of Savonarola, who tolerated Charles VIII.'s coming as a part of God's beneficent providence to rid Florence of the Medici, still maintained their loyalty to the French king.

Charles VIII. for a while kept the Florentines down by threatening to bring back the Medici; but one day he laid so grievous a list of propositions before the commissioners that Piero Capponi, enraged, snatched the paper from the scribes and tore it in fragments before the king's face, saying: "Sound your trumpet and we will ring our bells." This, together with Savonarola's prophecies against him, frightened the king, since he knew that at the sound of the common bell so large a number of soldiers would present themselves that his men-at-arms would be powerless. Accordingly he accepted their terms, promising to restore Pisa and the other places which Pietro di Medici had given up. But the last he never did.

Charles VIII.'s father, Louis XI., had kept aloof from Italian affairs and had given up his right to Genoa to Francesco Sforza; but Charles VIII. himself, as the representative of the Angevin House in the descent of King René of Anjou, claimed Naples; and though his cousin, the young wife of the down-trodden Galeazzo Sforza, had entreated him in behalf of her father, King Alfonso of Naples, Charles intended to appropriate the kingdom, and afterwards to cross over and drive the Turks before him. He would then retake Jerusalem from the Infidels and win back

the Holy Sepulchre. He had induced Venice, as well as Ludovico Sforza, the usurping Duke of Milan, to help him, and as he approached Rome with a gorgeous pageantry of sixty thousand gayly equipped cavalry Alexander VI. threw open the gates of the Eternal City. His stay there, however, was for the most part perfunctory, notwithstanding that he forced Alexander VI. to agree to all his terms.

The Italians looked with horror at the method of the invaders, since the French, from the time of the discovery of gunpowder, had guns made of brass, called cannon, which threw pointed iron balls, and could be fired at long range. On the other hand, they themselves still used great guns, with stone balls, which had to be drawn by oxen and were so heavy that they could be used with profit only in sieges.

King Alfonso left the kingdom and fled to Sicily when he heard that the French were really coming; and his son Ferdinand II., being betrayed by his general-in-chief, was forced to seek refuge in the Island of Ischia.

Although Charles VIII. was welcomed by the people of Sicily, he had made many enemies. In the first place he had failed to conciliate the Duke of Milan; and he had offended the Florentines because he favored the Pisans. The Venetians would not uphold a power which seemed likely to gain the ascendancy over them; and the Pope was dissatisfied because French rule interfered with his plans for increasing the influence of his house. Charles also angered the Orsini by favoring the Colonna; while Maximilian, King of the Romans, was jealous because French rule was working in such a way as might finally snatch from him his Emperor's crown. Thus it seems that everybody

was in a hurry to get Charles out of Italy, and Ludovico Sforza more than anyone else, though he had been the most influential in aiding him in the invasion of the peninsula. Ludovico now proceeded to make an alliance against the French with the Pope, Maximilian, Ferdinand II. and the Venetians.

Seeing that this combination was going to be too strong for them, the French army, which had already settled down to a life of voluptuous enjoyment, took a speedy flight, marching out of Naples in May, 1495. Charles' greatly reduced numbers, after passing the defiles of the Apennines, met a large army composed of troops from Venice and Milan under Francesco di Gonzaga in the plains of Lombardy. Charles VIII. was victorious, but he felt that it would not be prudent to remain in Italy, and accordingly pressed forward to Turin and returned to France. Ferdinand II., assisted by the Spanish, the Pope, the Venetians and the Duke of Milan, re-entered Naples and regained nearly all he had lost; but in less than a year he died and was succeeded by his uncle, Frederick.

The Pisans, having been abandoned by Charles, were obliged to put themselves under the protection of the Venetians, who helped them to carry on war with Florence. In order to deliver that city from the influence of the French, Ludovico Sforza tried to get Pietro di Medici back to Florence; but the government hindered Pietro from entering the city. The followers of Savonarola, who were called "Piagnoni," or "Weepers," because his preaching had brought them to repentance, clung to the old popular government, and still favored the French Alliance. The "Arabbiati," or the "Angry," were the members of the oligarchy who had turned out the Medici; and

there was a third party, who in secret favored the Medici, the "Bigi," the "grey or shady."

This was the time of Savonarola's greatest popularity and his influence was paramount. Under his supervision troops of white-robed children had gone begging through the streets, bearing crosses, and taking with them to be burned all articles of luxury, calling them, "anathema," or cursed things. Some of the most excitable of Savonarola's followers then lost his cause by giving themselves up to the wildest religious excitement. They sang and danced in the streets and shouted "Viva Cristo," demanding that Christ should be proclaimed King of Florence.

A low doorpost is seen at Loches where Charles VIII. struck his head accidentally and died April, 1498. He was succeeded by Louis XII., formerly Duke of Orleans, who was heir in the descent through his grandmother, Valentina, daughter of Gian Galeazzo Visconti. Alexander VI. favored his plans because he thought his son, Cesare Borgia, would gain by this means. The latter was already an archbishop and cardinal, but the king added the city of Valence in Dauphiny, with the title of Duke of Valentinois.

The Duke of Orleans, the Florentines, the Duke of Ferrara and the Marquis of Mantua all having united against him, the Duke of Milan, Ludovico Sforza, was now left without support; and the forces of Louis XII. took possession of the duchy in 1499, while the duke, deserted even by his people on account of his oppression, was finally betrayed by his Swiss mercenaries. When discovered, dressed like one of these and trying to escape, he was imprisoned by Louis in the Castle of Loches, until he died. Deep down in these dungeons, there is a gloomy, isolated cell, on the

damp walls of which, to keep himself from madness, Ludovico carved his name and other curious inscriptions, leaving there the outlines of his own face, all of which are discernible to-day. Ludovico Sforza was recognized as the most "illustrious Mæcenæ" of his age. He did much to beautify the Certosa of Pavia, besides many other works demanding great culture. The legitimate duke, Gian Galeazzo Sforza, Ludovico's nephew, having died in the Castle of Pavia some years before, Louis XII. came into possession of Milan in 1500; and during the next twelve years all of Lombardy fell under his sway. He then turned his attention to Naples. Frederick, the new king, with his disbanded army and empty treasury, could offer but little resistance, although the troops Charles VIII. had left were scattered and without a head. Ferdinand the Catholic, of Spain, soon made an alliance with Louis XII.; but at the same time arranged one with Frederick, who placed his fortresses in the possession of the Spanish troops. This was the Ferdinand connected with Columbus and the discovery of America, the consort of Isabella. When the French battalions crossed the frontier, Gonsalvo da Cordova, the Spanish general, disclosed the treachery of the King of Spain in his alliance with the French, and his disloyalty to Frederick of Naples; and Frederick was forced to surrender and flee to Ischia, where he died three years after.

In 1502 the French and Spaniards quarreled over the partition of the territory and fought a battle near Cerignoles in Apulia, where the French were totally defeated by this Gonsalvo, called the Great Captain. Although his character was perfidious, he possessed great military genius and heroic courage. After one

or two more disastrous battles, the French, fearing that they should lose Milan, abandoned the contest; and in this way the Spanish got possession of the Kingdom of Naples and held it, with some interruption in the eighteenth century, until 1861, excepting during the time of Napoleon's dominion.

Alexander VI. granted Louis XII. a divorce from his first wife, and in return received the lordship of Imola, Faenza, Forli and Pesaro; and Cesare Borgia, in order to insure the inheritance, murdered all the heirs of these ruling families. Louis XII. refused to let Cesare annoy the Florentines, since he wanted them and the Bolognese on his side; but Cesare in 1502 got hold of Urbino. He was physically strong, tall, handsome and mentally powerful; but he was cruel and treacherous and soon gained the hatred and contempt of all Italy. A conspiracy called the Diet of Magione was made against him by Bentivoglio of Bologna, Baglione of Perugia, Antonio di Venassio of Siena and the Orsini.

Under the cover of great friendship for the Orsini, Cesare in 1502 assembled Paoli and Francesco Orsini with others, apart from their troops in the Castle of Senigallia, where he strangled them and annihilated the family. The old Orsini Palace is seen on the ruins of the Theater of Marcellus in Rome, while the latter residence of the Neapolitan branch is in the Gravina Palace in Naples.

Pope Alexander, whose corrupt reign had been filled with intrigue and the grossest crimes, died from drinking poison, which he had mixed for one of his cardinals. Cesare was only saved from the same fate by his temperate habits. The new Pope, Pius III., lived only a few months, and his successor, Julius

II., seized and imprisoned Cesare because he had not been of service to him against the Venetians and had failed to advance the growth of the Holy See. In 1504 Cesare sought refuge with the Spanish general, Gonsalvo, who, ignoring his feigned friendship, sent him off to Spain and had him shut up in the Castle of Medina del Campo. Finally Cesare escaped to his brother-in-law John, King of Navarre, and served in his army until he was shot under the walls of Vienna.

A legend revived in modern literature relates that Cesare neglected his beautiful bride, Charlotte d'Albret, and finally wished to get rid of her altogether. Taking advantage of her affection for him, he sent her a warm velvet canopy for her bed, adorned at the head by a protecting Madonna with a snowy white mantle. This he begged her to use, in order that he might think of her warm and protected in the cold north. But she sent back the message that it should not be put to any service until his return. The lovely princess, however, soon died and was wrapped in the curtains she had cherished for his sake, enfolded in the Madonna's white mantle. Scores of years after, when exhumed, her face was still fair and white, preserved by the arsenical compound with which Cesare had intended to poison her.

Cesare's sister, Lucrezia Borgia, is conspicuous in history for her cruelty and for her knowledge of poisons, which she may have been falsely accused of using in disposing of persons who stood in her way. Giovanni Sforza of Pesaro was her first husband; after him Alphonso di Biseglia; and finally she married Alphonso d'Este, son of the Duke of Ferrara. She survived her whole family and lived surrounded by

poets and men of letters. Personally she was very attractive, having a dazzling complexion and silver-blond hair; and intellectually she is said by some to have been a genius. Charming as she was in person, however, her character is said to have been wholly depraved. Victor Hugo made her the subject of a play which is the basis for the text of the opera of Donizetti.

Louis XII. in becoming Duke of Milan also gained Genoa. He ordered the Genoese coin to be stamped with his mark as a sign of submission.

Ever since Charles VIII. had gained independence for Pisa, the Florentines had made strenuous efforts to re-establish their power over the city. Finally, after many negotiations, Louis XII. and Ferdinand of Spain agreed to the sum of money Florence offered; and Pisa in 1509, after fifteen years of war, again lost her freedom.

Venice now extended from Aquileia to the Adda, and on the south to Rimini and Ravenna. It included Friuli and the coast of Dalmatia, Cyprus, Crete, and some points on the Peloponnesus, besides towns in the Kingdom of Naples, such as Otranto, Brindisi and Trani, which had been given up as pledges in war. Disaffected by the gaining power of Venice, Louis XII., Ferdinand of Spain, Julius II., besides some of the minor powers, all of which respectively desired parts of her dominion, united and formed the League of Cambray in 1508, agreeing to divide among themselves all future conquests.

This was a critical time for the Venetian States, since by the terms of the treaty they were reduced to their original islands; but Julius II., not wishing to see the other nations gaining so much ground and desiring

Venice as a barrier against the Turks, went over to the side of the Venetians, and in 1510 broke up the League of Cambray.

Julius II. now turned all his attention to expelling the foreign powers from Italy; but, being thwarted in this by the French, he formed a Holy League, in which Henry VIII. of England joined, and afterwards Ferdinand of Spain. The French were successful in several contests, conquering at Ravenna the Pope's forces led by Fabriccio Colonna, and the Spaniards by General Raymond di Cordona; but they lost their distinguished though brutal leader, Gaston de Foix, Duke of Nemours, called the "Thunderer of Italy." A few months later Maximilian, then Emperor of Germany, joined the Holy Alliance and, with two thousand Swiss mercenaries belonging to the allies, overran the Duchy of Milan and drove the French out of Italy. The confederates of the old Ducal party now proclaimed Maximilian Sforza, son of Ludovico, duke.

After the French were expelled from the kingdom the allies met at Mantua and decided that Florence, notwithstanding she had remained strictly neutral during the contest, must receive back the Medici. The Great Council agreed to admit the latter as private persons, but, the Florentines themselves refusing, the city was taken by storm August 29, 1512, after a siege of twenty-one days, by the Spanish Viceroy Raymond di Cordona, a brutal massacre following. Don Raymond forced the Florentines to join the League against the French, besides paying him a large sum. Among the changes in the government during the long struggle in Florence, the office of Gonfaloniere had become a life tenure; but this officer was now forced to leave the city, and after Giovanni di Medici with his

nephew Lorenzo, son of the banished Pietro, had taken possession, the common bell assembled the people, who were obliged to agree by means of a *Balia* to re-establish the Medici in their former places of greatness.

During these many dissensions, Pope Julius II., who had striven for temporal power in order to enlarge the Holy See rather than to enrich his house, died in 1513. He was succeeded by Giovanni di Medici (Leo X.) and the Holy League was broken up.

Italy was the leader of the Renaissance, and the early part of the sixteenth century, called by the Italians the "*Cinque Cento*," being a time of great intellectual growth, the arts and sciences flourished. The stiffness in art which had prevailed among the painters before Giotto and Fra Angelico, and which had arisen from their stereotyped religious views, relaxed as artists began to study the Grecian masterpieces of antiquity. Many of these great works of art the sculptors found in Lorenzo di Medici's large collection in Florence; and the enthusiasm was further stimulated by discoveries made in the excavations in Rome during the reign of Julius II., particularly the exhuming of the *Laocoön* in the Baths of Titus. At the same time the Chapel of Masaccio became the school for painters in Florence.

The Popes, who, since Gregory's VII.'s time, had ceased to devote all their energies to the good of the Church, now encouraged a more secular spirit in art and literature. Before Julius II. died he had begun to pull down the old Basilica of St. Peter's to make room for the present magnificent structure; but Bramanti, whom he employed as the first architect, conceived plans so vast that it took centuries to realize them. To carry on the work, Leo X. now introduced

the idea of granting indulgences; and he was no doubt sufficiently gratified when he saw how this adroit scheme was bringing in millions, not only for his wars and the building of the great Cathedral, but to satisfy his own luxurious tastes.

The patronage of art had reached its climax under Julius II., who brought from Florence to Rome the painter and sculptor, Michelangelo, and employed him in decorating the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel, built by Sixtus IV. These adornments are at the present day more studied than any others of Michelangelo's works.

It was later, in Clement VII.'s time, when Michelangelo was engaged in painting "The Last Judgment" on the altar wall of the Sistine Chapel, that the romance of his life began with his ardent friendship for Vittoria Colonna. In perfect reverence and loyalty "he lavished on her not only all the deep tenderness and devotion of which such a nature as his was capable, but he was prodigal in dispensing for her the treasures of his great genius; for she is said to have been the theme of his finest sonnets, which he mastered with the same gigantic stroke as he did the productions of his chisel; and his most exquisite drawings were created for her gratification. Besides all of this, he found time in the midst of his mighty undertakings to spend long, bright hours in her society; and finally when, during political crises, they were separated, a close correspondence kept their hearts united."

This attachment was also a great solace to the gifted poetess, who rejected all suitors to her hand and remained true to the memory of the husband of her youth, the Marquis of Pescara, while cultivating literary pursuits to the end of her life in the compan-



ARTISTS.

<i>Raphael.</i>	<i>Giotto.</i>
<i>Fra Angelico.</i>	<i>Leonardo da Vinci.</i>

ionship of the great sculptor; and when she died Michelangelo's life was darkened by the shadow of this great grief.

At Florence, Michelangelo had met Leonardo di Vinci and competed with him in making designs for the Palazzo Vecchio. Leonardo had been brought to Milan by Ludovico Sforza, and in the short time he was there he painted "The Last Supper" on the wall of the Church of Maria della Grazia. Unfortunately time has so injured the wonderful painting that it is feared it will soon be entirely obliterated. Leonardo di Vinci, like the Greeks, aimed at perfection; therefore his works are few.

In the time of Julius II. Raphael painted the "Disputa," which is in the Stanze della Segnatura in the Vatican in Rome. Most of the famous paintings of this celebrated artist, such as the Sistine Madonna, the "Madonna della Sedia," etc., were executed during the reign of Leo X., but some of those in the Stanze were finished by his pupils after his death. Raphael designed the galleries called his Loggie, which connect the different parts of the palace, and had them decorated as seen to-day. Between the years 1513 and 1516, in Leo X.'s time, Raphael prepared drawings for some tapestries, the designs of which were taken from the Acts of the Apostles. They were worked by the weavers of Flanders, or some say in the looms of Brussels. Having been completed in the marvelously short time of three years, they were placed on the lower wall of the Sistine Chapel, and though afterwards carried off, they were returned and are to be seen at present in a much damaged condition in the Galleria degli Arezzo, in the Vatican. The designs, having necessarily been cut in strips for

the weavers, were left in Flanders, until Charles I. of England bought them. Cromwell preserved them, and in the reign of William III. they were joined together and hung in Hampton Court near London, but at present are to be seen in the South Kensington Museum. Raphael's last work, "The Transfiguration," was painted for Clement VII.

In his historical scenes Raphael was assisted by many young artists, who frequently exhibited little of the genius and keen artistic insight of their master.

Michelangelo's paintings are easily recognized by the magnificent outline of the drawing instead of the high coloring which is the characteristic of the Venetian School. The three great Venetian artists are Titian, Tintoretto and Paul Veronese. Benevenuto Cellini did his best work in the reign of Pope Clement VII. He is well known as a Florentine goldsmith, as well as being an engraver.

The Golden Age of Leo X. was also distinguished by much literary achievement. Ariosto and Pietro Bembo, among others, wrote in Italian. Ariosto composed in an age of courtly splendor, at a time when the accomplished men of the day could equally wield a sword or write a love poem. Hence he wrote of mad adventure, of combat, of paladins and the lover's devotion. In his "Orlando Furioso" he captivated both the gay and the earnest.

Tasso, a courtier as well as a poet, wrote half a century later, when the bards of the sixteenth century, like those of two centuries earlier, wove their sorrows into their writings.

Poor Tasso, out of joint with everybody and everything, finished only two poems of great merit, "Arminta" and the "Jerusalem Delivered." The latter

is said to be the best heroic poem of which Italy can boast. His "*Rinaldo*" was composed when he was seventeen years old, gaining him the name "*Tasino*" (dear little Tasso). Carducci says of Tasso that he was the legitimate heir of Dante; but Tasso loved and commented on love in a learned style, even his passion for Leonora seeming generally philosophical.

After all his misfortunes, Tasso, like Petrarch, was invited during the winter of 1595 to Rome to receive the laurel crown; but before the laurel was green he saw his end approaching; and, ascending to the Monastery of St. Onofrio, on the Janiculum, he told the prior, who came out to meet him, that he had come to die with him. He was only fifty-one years old when the end came, in the April of 1595; and twelve years after a monument was raised to his memory. His cell in the monastery is at present an object of great interest, the same garden where he used to walk being still seen, together with the tree under which he sat, called the "*Tasso Tree*."

Among the prose writers of the Golden Age was Machiavelli. He brought out the "*History of Florence*," his native city, and a political essay called "*The Prince*," which relates rather grotesquely the duties of a monarch and what his character should be in the troublous and corrupt times in which he wrote. The Medici ignored him because he ridiculed them. Guicciardini also wrote the "*History of Italy*" from 1494 to 1526.

CHAPTER IX

AGE OF SPANISH RULE.—CLEMENT VII.—FALL OF THE
MEDICI.—THE JESUITS.—DECLINE OF VENICE.

1513—1574 A.D.

POPE JULIUS had so extended the rule of the Church that when Leo succeeded him he found that his sway was vast. King Ferdinand of Spain still held Sicily, Sardinia and Naples and was as anxious as the Pope to keep the French from getting the upper hand in Italy. The people, however, of the Duchy of Milan, which now included Genoa, were tired of the Sforza rule under Swiss support; and one Antonio Adorno of Genoa having incited a revolution in favor of Louis XII., Maximilian Sforza was obliged to flee. But the French were again defeated and Sforza returned to his duchy for two years longer.

In 1515 Louis XII. died and was succeeded by Francis I., who immediately claimed Milan. Leo X., alarmed, sent his nephew Lorenzo to meet the forces of Francis, who was joined by Robert de la Marck, the leader of the Free Company called the Black Band, and by the Doge of Genoa, Ottoviana Fregoso. While the Florentine forces and the Spanish under their viceroy, together with the Papal army under Prospero Colonna, were marching to unite with the Swiss mercenaries, Prospero Colonna was taken prisoner at Villafranca. The remaining allies failing to appear, on account of lack of united action, the Swiss were left alone to meet the enemy. On September 13 the

great battle of Marignano was fought. The Swiss, who had now become the great mercenary force of Europe, made the French waver by their courage, keeping up the fight by moonlight, so that the victory was still undecided when the moon set. The next day the Venetians, however, attacked the Swiss in the rear, and the battle ended in favor of Francis, twenty thousand dead being left on the battlefield. This has been termed "a Battle of Giants." The Swiss now left the Italian service forever and hired out as mercenaries to the King of France.

Ferdinand, King of Spain, who by his marriage with Isabella had united Aragon and Castile, died in 1516, and was succeeded by his grandson Charles. The latter was also the grandson of Maximilian the Great of Germany; for Charles' mother Joanna, the daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella, had married Philip of Austria, the son of Maximilian and Mary of Burgundy.

When Emperor Maximilian died in 1519, Charles V. and Francis I. of France were candidates for the election; and Charles, who ruled over Spain and the Low Countries, the Two Sicilies, the Netherlands, Franche Compté, and the new colonies in America just discovered by Columbus, was now elected. He also inherited Imperial dignity and the title of King of Jerusalem. It was at this time that the title of King of the Romans was changed to Emperor elect, and became the natural appendage of the King of Germany. Charles V.'s rule was much more extensive than that of the Roman Emperors in the days of their greatest glory; and his ambition was even greater than theirs. This was the beginning of Spanish supremacy in Italy.

A reformation had long been brewing in the silence of the German cloisters, and was now led by the Augustinian monk, Martin Luther, who was assisted by the Elector of Saxony and many others in the Empire; and this movement was joined later by Zwingli of Zurich and Calvin of Geneva. Charles V.'s interest as a Spaniard leaned toward the Church in this matter; and besides it was better policy to fight on the side of the Pope. Accordingly he made a treaty with Leo X. in 1521, and in the long struggle which followed he was always most active in his hostilities against Luther and those especially interested in carrying on the Reformation.

After the Battle of Marignano, September 13, 1515, when the Duchy of Milan fell into the hands of France, Maximilian Sforza was forced by Francis I. to retire into exile in France, where he lived as a private citizen until his death in 1530; but Charles V. and the Pope now availed themselves of the opportunity, in the absence of the governor placed over the duchy, to enter Milan without opposition, and to proclaim as Duke, Francesco Maria Sforza, Ludovico's son, and the younger brother of Maximilian Sforza. Francesco Sforza II. married Christina, daughter of Christian II. of Denmark. She was the princess who, when sought in marriage by Henry VIII., is said to have replied that if she had two heads one of them should be at his disposal.

At his death Sforza bequeathed the duchy to Charles V., Parma and Piacenza being given back to the Pope; and in the midst of his rejoicing at another triumph of his party over the French, Leo X. died in 1521. The culture and brilliancy of his reign have almost obliterated in the minds of posterity the cor-

ruption and falseness of his character; but in fact it was the general depravity of his government and his wholesale barter of indulgences which brought the Reformation to a crisis. Fortunately for him, he passed away before the disturbance he had set in motion had proved destructive to the welfare of the Church.

Hadrian VI., a native of Utrecht, succeeded Leo X. He was the most holy prelate of his age. The voluptuous Romans called him the "Barbarian Pontiff," because he was a foreigner, and they hated him for his austerity of life, simplicity of manners and the sincerity of his views. They rejoiced when, unable to stem the tide of popular corruption, he died two years after his election. His greatest effort had been made in trying to arouse Christendom against the Turks.

Venice, in her alliance with France at the Battle of Marignano, had gained all she had previously lost; but, dissatisfied, she now united with Charles V., agreeing to defend the Kingdom of Naples against the Turks. In 1522 Francis I. was driven completely out of Italy by the defeat of his army near Milan; and Genoa, the only remaining seaport left to the French in the peninsula, was lost. Ottoviano Fregoso was taken prisoner in this contest and Antonio Adorno succeeded him. A League was now made between the Pope, the Emperor elect, the King of England, the Archduke of Austria and the Duke of Milan in opposition to the French. Francis, however, was again trying to force his way into Italy, when his chief general, Charles of Bourbon, "the Great Constable," became disaffected because the king's mother, Louise of Savoy, hating him, made a claim on his estates, and formed

an alliance with Charles V., Henry of England, and the Pope. Francis, having heard of the powerful combination against him, did not dare to leave the country for fear of an English and Spanish invasion. Accordingly he gave the command of the French troops to Guillaume de Bonnivet, the Admiral of France, who was soon defeated by the diplomacy of Prospero Colonna, and obliged to quit the country.

In 1524, when the French army was retiring, their rear was defended by Chevalier Bayard, the ideal knight of chivalry. In directing the retreat Bayard was mortally wounded and taken prisoner. The Great Constable found him under a tree, dying with his face still turned to the enemy and his eyes fixed on the cross formed by the hilt of his sword. The Constable tried to console him; but Chevalier Bayard replied: "It is not I who am an object of pity, for I die as a man of honor. It is you who have turned traitor to your country and king."

Though the Great Constable forced the French to leave Italy, he himself was obliged to retire from an encounter in Provence; and in doing so he gave the enemy the advantage, so that the French again crossed the Mont Cenis and would have marched directly to central and southern Italy had not Charles V. by his diplomacy circumvented them. The latter's cause, however, was almost lost, when Giovanni di Medici (descended from Cosimo I.), of the younger Medici line and leader of the Black Band, went over to the French. Besides this, at that same time the Pope became neutral. The Great Constable, however, with the Marquis of Pescara, came back to the relief of Charles' army and united with the Emperor's brother, Duke Ferdinand of Germany, who, with a force under General

Freundsburg, on the 24th of February, 1525, defeated the French at Pavia. Francis and his brother Henry were taken prisoners, with eight thousand others; and many were drowned in the Ticino, Admiral Bonnivet and Richard de la Pole being among the French nobles and commanders slain.

Francis was shut up in the Castle of Pizzighittone, near Milan; but was afterwards confined in the Tower of Alcazar at Madrid, where he had plenty of time to indulge in his favorite pastime of writing sonnets. Duke Francesco Sforza II., assisted by Henry VIII. and the Venetians, and joined by the dowager queen of France, all united to drive the Spaniards and Germans out of Italy, and they also attempted to deliver Francis I. from prison. They were abetted by the Pope, the combination being called the Holy League. The Marquis of Pescara, however, discovered the plot, and though for a time he pretended to favor it, soon betrayed the whole plan, and at the command of Emperor Charles V. seized all the strongholds in the duchy except the castles of Cremona and Milan. The Marquis of Pescara died before the end of that year. He was the husband of the gifted Vittoria Colonna. The Great Constable again took command in the Marquis of Pescara's place; and, although his army was scantily supplied with food and pay, he was victorious and forced the Duchy of Milan to endure every kind of outrage because the duke had joined the Holy League.

In the beginning of 1526 Francis I. obtained his freedom by renouncing his claims to Naples, Milan, Genoa and Asti in the Treaty of Madrid; but as soon as he was restored to his kingdom he declared all his concessions null and void because they had been made

under duress. The Pope then tried to induce him to join the League.

In the spring of 1527 the German troops under General Friendsburg were joined by the army of the Great Constable, which had become mutinous on account of the scantiness of the pay. These marched quickly towards Rome, to overthrow the Pope, whose generals were defending the city. Friendsburg died in a fit just before reaching Rome; and the Great Constable on the 6th day of May, 1527, assaulted the city.

Although the Constable was slain while scaling the walls, his forces continued the struggle and the "capital of the world soon lay at the mercy of thirty or forty thousand ungovernable soldiers." The Papal Guards were put to flight and the Vatican and the Church of St. Peter's plundered. The German Lutherans destroyed, as idolatrous, pictures and statues which were priceless, but the Spaniards committed even greater atrocities; and for seven months the city was at the mercy of an army which became a mob, greater violence being inflicted than during the barbarian invasions. Clement VII., who had succeeded Hadrian VI. in 1523, himself escaped to the impregnable fortress of St. Angelo, where he lived in close confinement for six months.

This great diplomatist had earlier, as Giulio di Medici, been the counselor of Leo X., and for a long time the real ruler of Florence. At present, however, Clement VII.'s position was no easy one, since, on account of preserving the "balance of power," he did not desire that the Sicilies and the Duchy of Milan should be under the same rule; and he was accordingly hostile to the Spaniards, who had cared nothing

for the interests of his predecessors, and had only cultivated them in order to use them to overthrow French power and set up their own in northern Italy.

Meanwhile, outside the city harvests were destroyed and thousands of families had perished through sickness, famine and the sword. Giovanni di Medici, who had led his Black Band against Freundsburg, continued to worry the German forces, until mortally wounded in 1526. Although already celebrated all over the Continent for bravery and ability, he was only twenty-eight years of age when he died.

The six years after the death of Leo X. were the darkest recorded in Italian history. During this time little duchies arose and went out forever, and some permanent despotisms were established. New territory was annexed and then detached; and there was constant change without progress, and in the midst of it all the plague again broke out.

The disturbances in Rome produced such an excitement that the Holy League reunited. This now included, besides Henry VIII. and Francis I., the Pope, the Republics of Venice and Florence, the Dukes of Milan and Ferrara and the Marquis of Mantua. England supplied the money and France sent an army under Marshal de Lautrec, who took Alessandria, sacked Pavia and in collusion with Andrea Doria removed Adorno from Genoa. Lautrec was assisted by the remnant of Giovanni di Medici's Black Band; and, marching into the Kingdom of Naples, would have undermined the Spanish strength, had he not found that kingdom occupied by the Prince of Orange. As it was, the whole French Invasion failed. In 1528 Andrea Doria was restored to power in Genoa, and, disaffected with Lautrec's methods, he deserted him,

the invading army of the latter enduring the greatest vicissitudes on account of not being acclimated.

The news of the capture of Clement VII. caused great rejoicing in Florence, since it is not only proved that Savonarola had prophesied correctly concerning this Pope's reign, but also because his rule had been scarcely tolerated during the minority of the young Medici. Accordingly the leading citizens told Alexander, Clement VII.'s nephew, and the young Cardinal Ippolito, the natural son of Lorenzo, that they must go; and on May 17, 1527, Florence was for the second time free from the yoke of that family, Nicolo Capponi being chosen Gonfaloniere. The government then proceeded to form an alliance against Charles V.

In the Peace of Cambray, 1529, notwithstanding all that had been done for Francis, the latter, hoping to place himself on a more solid basis, left Florence and all his other allies in the lurch. The various other states and duchies in connection with Francis joined the party of Charles V., and in 1530 the latter was crowned King of Italy and Emperor by Clement VII. in Bologna.

The Florentines now saw that they must again come under the power of the Medici or struggle alone for their liberty; and when they heard of the perfidy of the French king in leaving them out in the cold at the Treaty of Cambray, their courage almost entirely deserted them. They had learned, however, from Machiavelli, in his "Prince," the necessity of organized resistance; and the inspiration received from the Black Band of Tuscany had kept their military vigor alive. Michelangelo, also, was ready to assist them; and, when he was appointed to superintend the building of the fortifications of Florence, laid waste the mag-

nificent suburbs in all directions, lest the enemy should find a hiding place in these charming environs.

Charles V. soon sent an army of German and Spanish troops under the Prince of Orange, to assault the city. These were at first beaten off by Stephen Colonna, the commander of the fortress of San Miniato; and Francesco Ferruccio, a former leader of the Black Band, fortified Empoli, making it a storehouse from which the Florentines were supplied with food, Empoli, however, was betrayed while Francesco Ferruccio was away retaking Volterra. The Florentines were soon in great want of provisions, especially since Ferruccio, while marching over the mountains of Pistoia, in order to reinforce the city, was misled by his guides and his plans were revealed to the enemy. A desperate encounter took place in a little hamlet among the hills, and the Prince of Orange being shot, it looked as if the Florentines had gained the day; but Ferruccio, pierced with many bullets, was taken prisoner and then struck down in the market place by an Imperialist general, meeting his death fearlessly.

The last hopes of Florence now faded. After an heroic defense the city was betrayed, in 1530, through the treachery of Malatesta Baglione, chief captain of the armies of the republic; and the Signoria were coerced into capitulating to Emperor and Pope. The former was to regulate the government of the city, which, though it nominally preserved its liberty, was obliged to pay a ransom and give hostages to admit the Medici. A Balia was forced upon the citizens and the republican magistrates were compelled to lay down their office; and thus the world-renowned republic which had lasted four centuries became a prey to the depraved ambition of Clement VII., the most crafty

and corrupt of all the Medici; and for three hundred years after, the history of Florence is almost a cipher, her provinces and dukedoms being at the beck and call of the sovereigns of the rest of Europe.

When the Medici took vengeance on those who had fought for the freedom of the city, Michelangelo was saved by Pope Clement VII., who needed him to complete some artistic work. The old bell which had pealed forth so many times in the cause of freedom, bringing the citizens together to consult or fight, was now broken up, a new Parliament was chosen, a new Council elected for life with a new Senate; and Alessandro di Medici was placed over them as duke. All the years of pestilence, war and famine had not so desolated the city, nor had the misery of the people ever been so hopeless as during the six years of Alessandro di Medici's rule. He was finally murdered by a distant kinsman, and with him the elder line died out, Ippolito the Cardinal having previously been assassinated at Alessandro's instigation.

The infamous Pope Clement VII. died in 1534, and was succeeded by Paul III., who by his ability gained the respect of his subjects. The latter hated the Medici and occupied much of his time in exalting the Farnese family. Cosimo II., the son of Giovanni of the Black Band, was chosen by a party led by the historian Guicciardini, and was so powerful that after one or two revolutions the Florentines were obliged to submit, and Cosimo's reign crushed out all that remained of the old republican spirit. He, like the earlier of the Medici, cast a false halo over tyranny, by ruling the State with apparent justice and moderation as well as by patronizing art and literature. His successor, Ferdinand, however, governed badly and all the pros-

perity of Cosimo II.'s reign was wiped out. Finally, two centuries later, the last Grand Duke of the Medici family, Giovanni Gaston, died in 1737 after a dissolute life.

Pope Paul III., who had persuaded the Emperor to give his daughter Margaret, widow of Alessandro di Medici, to his own grandson, Ottoviano, now bestowed the coveted Church possessions, Parma and Piacenza, on his own son, Pietro Luigi, at the same time depriving Ottoviano of Camerino in order to give it to the Church. Ottoviano, indignant, took sides with his father-in-law, Charles V., and many conspiracies against Spanish power arose in which Pietro Luigi was at the head. He was at last assassinated at Piacenza by Fernando da Gonzaga, the viceroy of Naples. Paul III. died in 1553 and was succeeded by Julius III., who restored Parma to Ottoviano. Alessandro, the son of the latter and grandson of Charles V., became a famous leader under Philip II. and was made governor of the Netherlands. He had been placed at the head of the Spanish Armada; but the fleet of Holland and Zeeland shut him up while the English destroyed the Armada. His descendants were the Dukes of Parma until 1731.

There were so many other complications in the various kingdoms of Charles V., that, worn out by the turmoil, Charles in 1555 gave up the Low Countries and Burgundy to his son Philip, who already ruled Sicily and Naples; and in 1556 he retired altogether, surrendering to Philip his rule in Spain, at the same time giving the title of Emperor to his brother Ferdinand.

A Council had met at Trent in 1545 to define the situation and to turn out of the Church such as held the

new doctrine of the Reformation. The reform views had much less influence in Italy than in other countries, yet there were some persons in almost every town, who, seeing the scandalous lives of the Popes and Cardinals, were in favor of a Reformation in some form. The Society of Jesuits soon sprang up to check such heretical tendencies, their founder being a Spaniard, Ignatius Loyola, who had borne arms against the French. In 1540, with the permission of Paul III., he laid the foundation of this "Society of Jesus," and afterwards labored with untiring energy to crush the Reformation. Under Loyola, that system of court spies, judges and executioners, known as the Inquisition, was set up by Pope Paul III.

Pope Paul IV., who followed Julius III. in all Church affairs, established more firmly the Inquisition. On account of the hostility of the populace against Paul IV., the citizens at the news of his death formed a mob and opened the prison doors; and after liberating the prisoners, whom he had ready for the Inquisition, they set fire to the building.

At first the Jesuits numbered only sixty members; but, assisted by privileges granted by the Pope, they gained great power among the people. There has been much discussion concerning the benefits conferred upon mankind by this order. Their worldwide missionary work was no doubt of great service to humanity, for through it they established seats of learning, and in it exhibited wonderful devotion to duty in every direction. They obliged the Popes to reform their lives, and the requirements of their holy office were soon defined. The Jesuits, however, presently became the enemies of freedom and progress, because they thought it was for the interest of the Church.

Culture and science among laymen was frowned down by the order, Galileo being twice prosecuted on account of his discoveries. All books printed in the country were subject to the criticism of a Jesuit tribunal; and accordingly literature gradually disappeared and art became enfeebled, since painters were obliged to confine themselves to religious subjects. Many of the oppressed fled to England and Germany and Switzerland, to escape being burned as heretics. The Jesuits were not suppressed until the end of the eighteenth century, when a solemn Bull was hurled against them by Clement XIV.

Among the reformers who flourished in the sixteenth century there was a sect called the Waldenses, who dwelt for the most part in the western Alps. These took their name from Peter Waldo, a reformer of the twelfth century, though it has been said that Waldo took the name of the sect when he became a convert to their views. At that time the Bible had been translated into their language, and from its study they thought their faith was more genuine than that of the Albigenses, a sect then almost extinct on the other side of the Alps; and accordingly there were many quarrels between them, each claiming that their religion was the only correct doctrine.

During the sixteenth century both people and rulers degenerated, and, domestic life losing much of its sacredness, true social standards for the most part were sacrificed.

The Papal States remained unchanged in this century, fourteen such insignificant Popes occupying the Chair of St. Peter that it began to be apparent that Pontifical power was on the decline. Gregory XIII., however, the successor of Pius V. and Pope between

1572 and 1585, founded many useful institutions. He ornamented the galleries of the Vatican, and is especially famous for completing the reform of the calendar which Julius Caesar had commenced so many centuries before.

Turkish power reached its climax in the last part of the sixteenth century under Sultan Solyman. Italy was never free from his ravages, the towns in the south, including the island of Venice in the Adriatic, and Corfu, which Venice held for the most part after the crusades until 1797, being especially subject to his depredations. Solyman's son Selim was a no less dreaded opponent, and, he having determined to reduce Cyprus, which had belonged to Venice for eighty years, the great Battle of Lepanto was fought. The commander having been forced to make terms with Selim's general, Mustapha, was tortured and slain, and the garrison sent to the galleys.

The Venetians at last had to accept the aid of an allied fleet gathered by the exertions of Pius V. This was victorious over the Turks outside of the Gulf of Lepanto; and, on October 7, 1571, with great loss on both sides, Venice and a great part of Christendom were temporarily delivered from the Infidels. The allies failed to make a treaty, however, and the Venetians in 1573 were forced to yield their claims to Cyprus and pay a large tribute to the Sultan, thus giving the same prestige to the Turks as if the latter had been victorious at Lepanto. This was the close of the era of Venice's greatness; though later in the seventeenth century she waged effective warfare in the Mediterranean against some Bulgarian pirates called the Ussochi. In 1669, after a siege by the Turks of more than twenty years, she also lost the island of Candia; but in

1684 her general Morosini conquered the whole of the Peloponnesus, which he held for thirty years.

After Morosini's death, however, Venice had no part in the Eastern Empire excepting the Ionian Islands; and her war with the Infidels, which had lasted with some interruptions for five hundred years, did not end until the Peace of Passovorit in 1718. She was cut off from trade with the East and Egypt through the Red Sea by the success of the Turks, while at the same time the lately discovered passage round the Cape of Good Hope destroyed her trade overland with the Orient. After these reverses the nobility sank into such vices as gaming, and the common people were left in the grasp of the Council of Ten. Her decline, however, had commenced commercially together with that of the rest of Italy at the time of the discovery of America; since, after this, people had larger power of development and the traffic of the world changed ground. Up to that time Italy had monopolized nearly all art and all the best literature as well as all fashion and elegance. The principal street in London was called Lombard Street, and Florentine bankers advanced money to the most powerful princes of Europe. Genoa and Venice held mercantile dominion over the Mediterranean; and the styles came from Milan; so that to this day the person who trims bonnets is called a milliner.

From this epoch the Mediterranean became virtually only a large lake, and but for the Suez Canal commerce would be almost entirely oceanic. A few years ago, when Italy observed the Centennial in honor of Columbus and other American explorers, she is said by Italian statesmen to have celebrated the first cause of her decadence.

CHAPTER X

THE RISE OF THE HOUSE OF SAVOY.—HER DUKES.—
 CHARLES EMANUEL I. THE GREAT.—EXCITEMENT
 ATTENDING STRUGGLE OF SPANISH SUCCESSION.—
 MASANIELLO.—ITALY'S KINGDOMS, DUCHIES AND
 REPUBLICS AT NAPOLEON'S INVASION.

1574—1792 A.D.

AT the time of the Peace of Catau-Cambresis, celebrated between France and Spain in 1559, there were only four free governments in Italy. These were Venice, the little republic of San Marino, Genoa and Lucca. The last two were only such in name, since they were subjects of the greatest power in Italy, the King of Spain, who ruled Naples, Sicily and the island of Sardinia as well as Florence and Milan. There was, however, another influence spreading in a remote corner of Italy; for a clause in the Treaty of Cambresis recognized the right of Emanuel Filibert, Duke of Savoy, to Piedmont. It was his family which three centuries later was to emancipate and reunite the whole of Italy. They at this epoch ruled the most genuine Italian State in the peninsula—Savoy, which was formerly only a little domain in the valley of the Savoyard, earlier held by the Counts of Maurienne. This diminutive estate had extended its territory over a realm of mountains, ravines and forests on the western slope of the Alps, and continued to retain the same name.

The most famous of the nobles who became subjects of Emperor Conrad when Rudolph III., King of Bur-

gundy died in 1027, had been Humbert, Count of Burgundy, called "Humbert of the White Hand." Some trace his lineage back to the Saxon Wittekind, and others to the Margraf of Ivrea. In any case he was fifth in descent from Boso of Provence. He had received from Rudolph III. the counties of Savoy and Maurienne, and by the marriage of Humbert's son with Adelaide, daughter of the Count of Turin, Burgundy and western Lombardy were united, their heirs becoming Counts of Savoy. Little by little they lost their possessions on the French side of the Alps, but gained new ones in Italy, until their boundaries touched the Mediterranean at Savona. In the thirteenth century Savoy became influential among the European countries, since the daughter of one of her counts was the mother of Margaret, wife of Louis IX. of France, of Eleanor, queen of Henry III. of England, and of Beatrice, wife of Charles of Sicily. The family divided in the next two hundred years, its elder branch ruling Savoy and the northern shores of the Lake of Geneva, and the younger division holding Piedmont, with Turin for its capital.

The Humberts in the meantime had succeeded the Amadeus, and the Amadeus the Humberts, one after the other as dukes. They were always engaged in warfare with their neighbors up to the time of Amadeus VIII., who had come into the inheritance of the elder line in 1391; and in 1418 had joined Piedmont to Savoy and received the title of duke from Emperor Sigismund. Amadeus VIII. vanquished the Marquises of Montferrat and of Saluzzo, and his kinsman, the Prince of Achaia, his three most effective antagonists. He annexed Saluzzo and Chivasso and received Vercelli from Filippo Maria Visconti, only

being checked later in his advance on Milan by Francesco Sforza.

Amadeus VIII. was one of the most remarkable characters of his day. He not only built up the fortunes of his house, but, through it, of all Italy. A conspiracy against his life, together with other causes, resulted in his abdication in 1434 in favor of his son Louis, after which he entered a cloister as a priest. Later he became anti-Pope as Felix V., at the Council of Basle, in place of Eugenius IV.; but he resigned in favor of Nicholas V. in 1449. His two sons married princesses of Cyprus; afterwards through them the Dukes of Savoy claimed the title of Kings of Cyprus. In the time of Francis I. of France Savoy was enfeebled by the fickle course of her duke, Charles III. There were troubles between the latter and the Imperial City of Geneva, which revolted, the nobles of Vaud supporting him while Berne, Freiburg and King Francis I. adhered to Geneva.

It was during this war that Bonnivard was kept confined for six years in the Castle of Chillon, on account of having dared to take sides against Savoy. His footprints are still seen worn into the grim stone pavement in the dungeon deep down below the castle. Lord Byron records the fact most pathetically in his "Prisoner of Chillon."

The war was decided in favor of Geneva, in 1536, after which the French took away the larger part of Savoy's territory. Charles V., who had helped the Duke at first, occupied Piedmont, while Duke Charles was left with only Nice. Savoy and Piedmont were the center of much of the strife between France and Spain in the sixteenth century; and when Duke Charles III. died in 1553, his son Emanuel Filibert, styled the

"Iron Head" and the "Prince with a Hundred Eyes," was left a "duke without a duchy"; but this was more than compensated for by his great ability.

The "Little Cardinal," as he was also called, because as a younger son he was intended for the Church, was suddenly raised to the throne by the death of an elder brother. A Venetian ambassador writes of him as follows: "In Germany he is regarded as a German on account of his descent from the Saxons. The Portuguese claim him through his Portuguese mother; and the French consider him a Frenchman, both on account of his wife and his subsequent relations to them; but he himself is an Italian, and wishes to be looked upon as such."

Among the conspicuous acts of Emanuel Filibert was his bravery at the Battle of St. Quentin in 1557. Here, as an officer in the army of his cousin, Philip II. of Spain, he distinguished himself when the French were routed by that monarch, in a victory giving rise to the Peace of Cateau-Cambresis. He now married Margaret, daughter of Francis I. and sister of Henry II. of France; and in 1574 the French and Spaniards ceded to him the places which had been kept from him at the Treaty of Cambresis, with the exception of Turin. Afterwards, he devoted himself to strengthening the kingdom until he died in 1580. From that time the Dukes of Savoy became Italians instead of Burgundians; and the capital being changed from Chambery to Turin, Piedmont became a more important factor in Italian affairs than Savoy. Emanuel Filibert held Nice, Bresse, and other territories northwest of the Alps, as well as Savoy.

Charles Emanuel, called the "Great," succeeded his father Emanuel Filibert; and, in order to gain the sup-

port of Spain, he married Catherine, sister of King Philip II. of Spain. Venice and the other Italian powers, jealous of the Dukes of Savoy, who had become some of the most notable men of the sixteenth century, depended upon France to check the power of Charles Emanuel. In the time of the struggle with the Huguenots, the latter joined the Catholic League under the Duke of Guise and invaded Provence, laying siege to Geneva. When Henry III. was assassinated in 1589, some supported the claim of Charles Emanuel to the throne of France through his mother, who was Margaret, daughter of Francis I.; but after the Battle of Ivry Henry of Navarre became King of France as Henry IV., and Charles Emanuel was required to give up Provence. A protracted war ensued, which was only brought to a close, in 1601, by the Treaty of Lyons, according to the terms of which Charles Emanuel had to renounce Provence by giving up Bresse, Bugey and Pays de Gex, but was allowed to keep Saluzzo. This drove the French out of Italy and, giving Charles Emanuel control of the French side of the Alps, was the stepping-stone which finally made the future rulers of Savoy Italian kings.

During the fifty years of Charles Emanuel's reign there were disputes with Spain with reference to Valtellina, which has only belonged to Italy since 1859, and differences about the Grisons, still a part of Switzerland, Louis XIII. and Venice siding with Charles Emanuel against Philip IV. The latter as well as Philip III. had always coveted this territory in order to insure a thoroughfare between Austria's and Spain's possessions in Italy. In the course of this war there were many plots against the oligarchy, in which the people of Genoa sought the aid of Charles Eman-

uel, the Vascherò Conspiracy being one of them. This was similar to the "Conspiracy of the Fieschi" in 1547, which well-nigh extinguished the Doria family in Genoa. Charles Emanuel also had aspirations with reference to Montferrat, but this was given to France; and, when Charles died, all his diplomacy came to naught except the acquisition of a few places on the borders of Montferrat. Casale, with a fortress built in 1090, was not added until later.

Christina, the wife of Victor Amadeus I., successor of Charles Emanuel the Great, was the daughter of Henry IV. of France and the mother of Charles Emanuel II., who commenced to reign while a youth. Christina was also the sister of Louis XIII. On account of this fact Cardinal Richelieu had a great influence over her husband, Victor Amadeus I., forcing him to take part against Spain; and this influence continued, after the king's death, during Christina's regency. Charles Emanuel II. developed influential traits of character, and under him the princes of the House of Savoy returned to their allegiance to Spain; and the trouble of the two nations ended by the Treaty of the Pyrenees in 1659. For six years, with the aid of the Spanish, Charles Emanuel II. withstood the despotism of Louis XIV., and under him Piedmont acquired much military renown.

In spite of promises which Charles V. and his brother Ferdinand had made, the viceroys in the Kingdom of Naples often imposed unfair assessments on the most common necessities of life. In 1647, on account of a new and very unjust taxation, Tomasso Aniello, a fishmonger, called Masaniello, stirred up the whole people and, putting himself at their head, gained possession of the government. The mob burnt

the Custom House and shut up the Duke of Arcos, who was then viceroy, in the Castle of St. Elmo in Naples; but at the same time an insurrection in Palermo increased the danger to such an extent that the Duke of Arcos was able to take advantage of it and gain over the principal citizens.

Although Masaniello was nothing but a common peasant, he possessed wonderful personal magnetism, and the viceroy was obliged to combat his efforts by strategy. Accordingly at a feast he drugged him with mixed wine, which upset his balance and made him do such extravagant things that he lost his influence; and the insurrection fell to pieces. The Neapolitans had looked upon Masaniello with a superstitious regard, and when he was assassinated they lost their spirit, and never again made but feeble attempts against Spanish rule.

The French under Louis XIV. were also at war with Spain; but, in 1678, Louis made peace by the Treaty of Nimwegen, and, having withdrawn his forces, he formed an alliance with Victor Amadeus II., Charles Emanuel II.'s successor, ceding the fortress of Casale to him; and in 1684 Louis made Genoa submit under a bombardment.

The peace was not interrupted for twenty years; but the 1st of November, 1699, Charles II. of Spain died and in his will Philip of Anjou, grandnephew and grandson of Louis XIV., was declared heir to the Spanish dominions, with the title of Philip V. The right to the throne was contested by Archduke Charles, son of Leopold of Austria, who, through his mother, was in a direct descent, both she and the grandmother of Philip V, being daughters of Philip IV.

This war of the Spanish Succession raged four-

teen years and deluged the whole continent in blood. The Spanish court sent orders to the governors of Naples, Milan, Sicily, Sardinia and Tuscany, to acknowledge the authority of Philip V.; Victor Amadeus II. also supported the latter, who was his son-in-law, while England, Prussia and Holland allied themselves with Austria; and Italy became the battleground of the French and Austrian armies. The united efforts of Prince Eugene of Savoy and Marlborough drove the French out of Lombardy and Naples, giving the prestige to the Austrian competitor, who was proclaimed King of Spain in Vienna, as Charles III. After trying two years to establish himself in Spain as their ruler, the Archduke's brother, Emperor Joseph, died, and the former was elected Emperor of Austria as Charles VI. Now all parties, in order to maintain the balance of power, were glad to unite on the 7th of September in the Peace of Utrecht, and recognize the Bourbon, Philip V., as King of Spain, on condition that he give up his Italian possessions and his rights to the crown of France.

Victor Amadeus II., by the Treaty of Utrecht, gained Sicily, Montferrat and Alessandria, and a part of Lombardy, and his rights as an independent sovereign were acknowledged. The Neapolitan kingdom and the island of Sardinia, the Duchies of Milan and Mantua, all passed to Austria. The Austrian Charles also hoped to gain Tuscany through Anne, the wife of the Elector Palatine and the sister of Gian Gastone, who was the heir and had no children. But Philip V., when his first wife, the daughter of Victor Amadeus II. died, had married Elizabeth Farnese, heiress of the Duke of Parma and Piacenza; and through her,

who was also descended from Cosimo III., he succeeded to the Grand Duchy of Tuscany.

In defiance of the Treaty of Utrecht, Philip V., under the influence of his minister, Alberoni, took away Sardinia from Austria and was bargaining for the new Kingdom of Sicily, which the Duke of Savoy held with his troops. A quadruple alliance was accordingly formed between England, France, the United Provinces and Charles of Austria to enforce the Treaty of Utrecht; and because Victor Amadeus II., Duke of Savoy, was suspected of being on the side of Spain, he was obliged by the allied powers to yield the Kingdom of Sicily to Emperor Charles VI., receiving in return the Kingdom of Sardinia. Charles VI. now became King of the Two Sicilies, while Sardinia, which was to include Savoy, Piedmont and the island of Sardinia, was the cradle of the future sovereigns of united Italy.

Victor Amadeus II.'s misfortune in having to exchange the fruitful land of Sicily for the unproductive Island of Sardinia marks an important epoch in Italian history; for had he still kept Sicily, he and his heirs would in all probability have become so embroiled in the succeeding Spanish and Austrian quarrels that their independent growth would have been stunted and their final great service to Italy rendered impossible.

In 1730 Victor Amadeus II., in order to contract a morganatic marriage with the Countess of San Sebastiano, gave up the crown to his son, Charles Emanuel III. The close of his life was saddened by this step; for within a year after his abdication this second wife became weary of their obscure and monotonous existence in the fortress of Chambery, and influenced him

to try to reclaim his possessions and dignities; and accordingly they set out for Turin. Charles Emanuel III. reached the capital before his father and upset these plans; but Victor Amadeus II. kept instigating new plots, until his son finally had him put in prison in the Castle of Rivoli, where he remained until his death in 1732.

In 1738 the Treaty of Vienna was made between Louis XV. of France, Philip V. of Spain and Charles Emanuel III., King of Sardinia, for the purpose of driving the Austrians out of Italy and placing Don Carlos, son of Philip V., on the throne of the Two Sicilies and at the same time securing Milan to Charles Emanuel. At the close, however, France and Spain ignored their agreement with the King of Sardinia, leaving Milan and Mantua to Austria, while Spain received Naples and Sicily. Don Carlos, now being acknowledged King of the Two Sicilies, gave up his claim to Tuscany and Parma, and Francis of Lorraine, who had married Maria Theresa, daughter of Charles VI., received the Grand Duchy, Gian Gastone, the Medici heir, having just died. Stanislaus Leszcynski, the father-in-law of Louis XV., who had long been struggling in vain to obtain the throne of Poland, received Lorraine from the Emperor.

By this compromise, what was called the War of Polish Succession was also brought to a close, and at the same time the power of Spain was re-established in southern Italy. Charles Emanuel III. was appeased by receiving, as an extension to his frontier, Novara and Tortona. In the meantime Don Carlos had become King of Spain by the death of Ferdinand VI., and the latter's son Ferdinand became King of Naples. Thus one power after another kept acquir-

ing and ceding back the different parts of Italy, until the death of Charles VI. of Austria, which resulted in 1740 in the War of the Austrian Succession.

France, Spain and Naples, all Bourbons, now joined with Prussia, Bavaria and the King of Sardinia to plunder Maria Theresa, the daughter of Charles VI., whom Frederick the Great was harassing on all sides. In 1742, however, the King of Sardinia broke away from his union with the Bourbons, into which he had entered only in a half-hearted way, and made an alliance with Maria Theresa on condition of getting back Milan. The Genoese, who had kept up the same government which Andrea Doria had established in a semi-independence, were now much disturbed at the union, for fear Charles Emanuel III. would absorb their city, since he needed a way to the sea. At first in 1745 Charles Emanuel III. was defeated by the French and Spanish, and the victorious armies were allowed to pass through Genoa on their way to their prospective conquest of Milan; but during the same year Maria Theresa's husband, Francis of Lorraine, was elected Emperor, and, a truce being temporarily made between Prussia and Austria, peace reigned in Europe.

In 1746 the King of Sardinia and the Austrians defeated the French and Spaniards in a great battle under the walls of Piacenza, the city being given up; and when they advanced and demanded to be admitted to Genoa, which was the key to the two Rivas and to the Island of Corsica, the Genoese were obliged to open their gates; and the Austrian leaders perfidiously treated the city as though it had really surrendered. But when the Austrians tried to force the bystanders with blows to help them get a cannon out

of the underground vaults, where it had fallen, men women and children formed a mob and with stones and other missiles obliged the Austrian troops to quit the city and retreat beyond the Apennines. Although Genoa's power continued in the hands of an oligarchy until Napoleon's time, the activity of her people and her importance as a seaport insured her commercial prosperity.

The War of the Austrian Succession ended after seven years, in 1748, at the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle. Austria retained Milan and Mantua, which had been absorbed into the Duchy of Milan; but Francis of Lorraine gave up Tuscany, which had become practically an Austrian province. The republic of Genoa and the Duchy of Modena were given to France, as a Protectorate. Genoa was allowed possession of the two Rivas, but was obliged to give up Corsica to Louis XV., who afterwards brought the island into subjection. Parma was surrendered to Don Philip, brother of the real Charles III. of Spain. This small principality, together with Piacenza and Guastalla, had been taken from Austria by Spain in 1745 and restored to her in 1746; and now they continued to belong to Spain until the Napoleonic era.

For forty years after the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle Italy was at peace and little happened worthy of notice. Whatever religion there was had degenerated into superstition. Popular education was discouraged and there was no progressive spirit among the people. Tuscany, however, under Francis I.'s son, afterwards Leopold II., enjoyed exceptional independence and prosperity. The latter did much to promote the welfare of the duchy by reforms in finance, by wise administration of criminal law, by the abolition

of the Inquisition, and a much needed restraint of the clergy. He also redeemed much land which wars and neglect by the people had allowed to degenerate into swamps and marshes, and restored the Maremma and the valley of the Arno and Pagli to something of their former fertility. His memory is still cherished with gratitude in Tuscany, and he is justly regarded as the most distinguished of the early liberal Italian rulers. Under his second son, Ferdinand, the excellent prince who succeeded him in 1790, Tuscany continued happy and prosperous until Napoleon's time.

Charles Emanuel III. was alike a great general, a wary politician and an illustrious king. Although after the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle he engaged in no wars, he strengthened himself in his Alpine boundaries by a line of magnificent fortresses and kept up such an efficient military force that he was ready to take the field at any moment with an army of forty thousand men well disciplined in the modern science of war. Like the rest of the rulers of Italy, he entertained Frederick the Great's conception of the right of kings, and was a "mild despot"; but at the same time he followed out his father's wise policy. There were twenty thousand priests and twelve thousand monks at that time in the province of Piedmont alone. Accordingly he felt it necessary to diminish the strength and wealth of the Church, lest it should overshadow his own power; but, notwithstanding his diplomatic character, he was not sufficiently progressive to advance education.

The court of Charles Emanuel was carried on with the same ceremony as Versailles. Over three hundred courtiers surrounded the king and the yearly expenditure was more than two million liras. In accordance

with the ideas of that age of absolutism, the sovereign demanded entire subservience from all the nobility, in even the most trifling personal matters. Turin, Charles Emanuel's capital, was then considered by the French "the most beautiful village in the world," and from that time it has kept its reputation for being one of the most stately cities of northern Italy.

Victor Amadeus II. had said that "Italy was like an artichoke, which had to be eaten leaf by leaf." The Dukes of Savoy had first consumed Piedmont, and then Sardinia, and in this way established the Kingdom of Sardinia, the nest egg of the future United Kingdom of Italy. They then went on absorbing contiguous territory, until after the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, in 1748, when their frontier extended to Lake Maggiore and the River Ticino, and the Kingdom of Sardinia included nine thousand square miles. In its three provinces there were three million inhabitants, with a revenue of fourteen million dollars.

During the eighteenth century many moral and intellectual Popes had followed in succession; but in former times the States of the Church had been governed so badly and the expenses of the Holy See in keeping up their temporal as well as spiritual dignity had been so great, that the Popes were obliged to tax the necessities of life; accordingly the poor had been kept down and were always in destitution. Thus, much time was required to remedy the defects of institutions which had debarred all intellectual progress and had kept the people in ignorance. The enlightenment which now prevailed in all the European nations had also threatened to undermine Papal power to such an extent that the policy of the Popes had necessarily become that of throwing their influence on the side of

the most powerful, while appearing to be neutral. In 1769, however, Clement XIV. had the courage to suppress the Order of Jesuits, who by their dark dealings had gained the odium of Western Europe.

Among other reforms in the Papal States, Pope Pius VI. tried to restore the Campagna, which had depreciated into an unhealthy marsh, imperiling the lives of the inhabitants for centuries. At the time of the accession of Pius VI., in 1775, the population of the Papal States was two million five hundred thousand, and their army numbered five thousand. This territory covered an area of seventeen thousand square miles, with a revenue of nine million dollars. It extended as far south as the Kingdom of Naples and as far north as the Po, while it was bounded on the west by the Mediterranean and on the east by Tuscany and Modena. The remarkable visit of Pius VI. to the Court of Vienna to interview Emperor Joseph II. in order to arrest his reforms is a memorable event in history. Although he was received with due respect, he accomplished nothing.

Charles VII. of the Two Sicilies, afterwards Charles III. of Spain, Don Carlos as he was called, had done a great deal for the institutions of Naples. He adorned it most tastefully and brought from Parma, which he also held, many artistic treasures of the Farnese family. Some of these are to be seen to-day in the Neapolitan Museum, together with others taken from the Farnese Palace in Rome, the "Farnese Flora" and the "Hercules" being among the number. The "Farnese Bull," also seen in Naples, a Greek work of art from the Baths of Caracalla, is one of the finest sculptures in the world.

When Don Carlos succeeded to the Spanish throne

as Charles III. he gave Naples to his third son, Ferdinand IV., a boy of nine years of age, thus making it a province of Spain. Charles III. is remembered with more pride by the Spanish than any other sovereign after Philip II. He finally established in Spain the Bourbon rule, which was kept up with few interruptions until 1861. The three Bourbon monarchs, Philip V., Ferdinand VI. and Charles III., whose methods were the same as those of Richelieu and Mazarin, raised Spain from the lethargy which had held it all through the seventeenth century.

Victor Amadeus III. succeeded Charles Emanuel III., and in his reign the French Revolution burst upon Europe in a great tempest of war. At this time Ferdinand IV. of Naples had just married Maria Caroline of Austria, sister of Marie Antoinette; and the former exerted a baleful influence all through the Revolutionary troubles. The Duchess of Tuscany was also a sister of Marie Antoinette, and accordingly the Austrian rulers were in favor of the royal party in Naples. It was the same in the little Duchy of Modena, where the only daughter of Hercules III., Beatrice, had wed Ferdinand, one of the Archdukes of Austria, and Hercules himself had married an elder sister of Marie Antoinette.

Lombardy was now thoroughly organized into a duchy, with Milan for its capital, and annexed to Austria; and Venice, after her innumerable struggles with Turks and Spaniards, had fallen into effeminacy. The city was still governed by a Council of all the noble citizens who were of age and was presided over by a Doge; and out of three million inhabitants only twenty-five hundred were entitled to the rights of citizenship.

This brief review of the situation indicates the condition of Italy when the French Revolution roused the people all over Europe from despair into a wild frenzy. It shows the subjection of the Two Sicilies and Parma to Spanish rule, and how the Duchies of Lombardy, Modena and Piacenza were subject to Austria; also that the Grand Duchy of Tuscany was Austrian, and that Venice and Genoa were just supporting a semi-independent existence, the latter having given up Corsica to France. The States of the Church were still occupied in trying to aggrandize, and the little republic of Lucca now belonged to Tuscany. This state of affairs shows us the Kingdom of Sardinia with the only really vigorous territory in all the Italian peninsula, except the little republic of San Marino, all the others but Genoa and Venice being under Austria or Spain. At that time not one Italian State was subject to France.

Strangely enough, in the midst of all this confusion science and literature had somewhat revived during the century. Alessandro Volta, a native of Como, had discovered the theory of galvanism by contact, and in 1800 invented the voltaic pile, while the Piedmontese count, Alfieri, had brought out his first volumes glowing with patriotism. These, dwelling as they did on the idea of a new Italy, caused the people to reflect on their ancient glory and aroused an abhorrence in them for tyrants and a hope of freedom.

CHAPTER XI

THE ABSORPTION OF ITALY BY NAPOLEON.—FORMATION OF HIS REPUBLICS.—ENTHUSIASM OF ITALY FOR NAPOLEON'S INSTITUTIONS.—ITALY RESTORED IN NAPOLEON'S ABSENCE IN EGYPT.—BATTLE OF MARENGO.—EXCAVATIONS OF ROMAN RUINS IN NAPOLEON'S TIME.

1792—1812 A.D.

AT the close of the eighteenth century the Bourbon rule seemed about to end in Italy; but after the Revolution all the despotic governments in Europe were alarmed lest the example of the French in establishing a written Constitution should be followed. Therefore they united to put down constitutional liberty and once more restore the Bourbon family to power.

Soon after 1792 the French invaded Savoy; but for nearly four years after, the turmoil at home absorbed their entire attention, the First Coalition, consisting of all the despotisms of Europe, having in the meantime been formed. In 1795 the new French government sent an army across the Alps and the masses of the Italian people, hoping thereby to drive out the Austrians, welcomed it heartily. Savoy, glad to avail herself of the chance to escape from the Kingdom of Sardinia, threw herself upon the French, who rejoicing said: "The Alps bid France welcome Savoy." Piedmont, however, was forced by the Austrians to assist in levying forty thousand troops to help make

up one of the armies of the First Coalition, which was either to attack the invaders or to enter France when the Prussians on the Rhine should have drawn away the French army in that direction.

In 1796 Napoleon Bonaparte, the Corsican, was made commander of the French troops. He was then twenty-five years of age, slender in form and almost as delicate as a girl in appearance. The condition of Italy furnished an unbounded field for ambition, and the manner in which Napoleon was received by the restless people, longing for freedom, was no doubt the keynote of his phenomenal success and unprecedentedly great career.

The small force of forty thousand men with which he was furnished were badly equipped soldiers of the Revolution, more like the mercenary bands of the Middle Ages than a regular army. They were half starved and freezing and lived on half rations taken from the mouths of the peasants already impoverished by constant warfare. The officers received only a dollar and a half a day and were obliged to go on foot, since the cavalry horses had succumbed to the rigors of the climate.

This meager force Napoleon posted along the ridges of the Mont Cenis and Little St. Bernard in the face of the Austrian troops awaiting his advance in the rich plains of Italy.

Napoleon was at first received with suspicion by his soldiers and with open hostility by the generals in command, who disliked being placed under an inexperienced youth. By his wonderful genius, however, he overcame all difficulties and soon gained the love of those who had tried to circumvent him, this love soon growing into something like idolatry. Napoleon

now began to develop a remarkable series of military tactics, which transformed his meager forces into an army intoxicated with victory.

After a thorough study of the country, and with



matured plans, Napoleon on the 12th of April, 1796, commenced that first campaign, which continues to excite the admiration of the world. He addressed his

men with great eloquence, praising them for the courage and patience which they had exhibited on the barren ledges, at the same time reminding them that they had not yet been tried in regular army service. He told them that he was about to lead them into luxurious plains where, if they would press heroically on, they would find rich provinces, great cities and glory awaiting them.

From the time of the first encounter the genius of the leader and the valor of the soldiers were alike evident. By the 1st of May the Austrians were driven out of the kingdom and the King of Sardinia, Victor Amadeus III., was forced to make terms with Napoleon, renouncing Nice and Savoy as well as Tortona and Alessandria on the Italian side, and giving up several fortresses of Piedmont. He was also obliged to grant Napoleon passage through his domains.

After the Austrians were driven out they retreated into Lombardy and, on the 9th of May, the Battle of Lodi was fought, bringing the whole of Lombardy under Napoleon's sway. This fulfilled a promise made to his men that in a month's time the enemy should be at their feet. He entered Milan the 15th of May, 1796, at the location of the present Triumphal Arch, built afterwards in 1804 as the terminus of the Simplon route. It is almost the duplicate of the Arch of Triumph in Paris, begun two years later, only that it is smaller.

Napoleon now issued a proclamation telling his soldiers that the standard of the French republic waved over the whole of Lombardy, and that the Dukes of Parma and Modena only existed through his courtesy. He said: "To you will belong the glory

of replacing the statues of heroes who have rendered Rome immortal and of rousing the Romans who have become enslaved." And indeed it was a fact that the Duke of Parma had already compromised by paying a heavy indemnity, and giving up twenty of the best works of art; while the Duke of Modena had deserted his subjects, taking his art treasures to Venice with him. The Austrians at Mantua had at the same time withdrawn to the Tyrol, passing through Venice on the way.

These movements inspired the Italian republicans with great enthusiasm, and they hailed Napoleon as the regenerator of Italy. The King of Naples solicited an armistice, and withdrew from the First Coalition; and Napoleon was soon able to bring the Pope to sue for peace, at the same time occupying with his army Bologna, Ferrara and Ravenna, territory belonging to His Holiness. Reggio and Modena revolted from the Italian governors placed over them and were formed into a provincial government, which, united to Bologna and Ferrara, made up Napoleon's first Italian State, called the Cispadine republic, with Bologna for its capital; and in less than a month all the powers in central Italy in favor of Austria were compelled to abandon their allegiance.

The Austrians, notwithstanding this, were gathering an overwhelming army in the north to pour down upon Napoleon's forces; and, although weakened by service, they were threatening, with the aid of English financial support, to make the situation very critical for Napoleon. The Battles of Arcola and Rivoli, however, fought in 1796, resulted in a crushing defeat for the Austrians, who retired to Verona.

When Napoleon entered Modena the people eagerly

demanded his aid in setting up republican institutions, while the populace in the Papal States, which he had already taken, received him with overwhelming effusion. The Pope was alarmed, since he saw that Napoleon was doing everything to create a sentiment in favor of freedom and to impress the people with the idea that his mission was not to destroy, but to disseminate liberty and enlightenment.

Napoleon proceeded to annihilate the British fleet then holding Leghorn. This was a seaport which the Medici had built up in the sixteenth century by erecting warehouses, building fortified harbors, and inviting commercial people to settle there. The Grand Duke of Tuscany sided with France, and was now so delighted to see the English driven off, and so desirous of conciliating the rising great general, that he entertained Napoleon magnificently. It was of no use, however, for he, with the others, finally had to submit to the conqueror and go.

After successive victories Napoleon repulsed the Archduke Charles, brother of Francis II., at Tagliamento, and the Austrians were compelled to treat at Lœben on the 18th of April, 1797. Napoleon was incensed against Verona on account of an insurrection known as the Pasque Veronese, in which the French garrison had been massacred, and also because the Veronese had sheltered Louis XVIII. The Venetians also had offended him by offering an asylum to the Austrians, and Napoleon made all this a pretext for extinguishing the Venetian republic. Accordingly on the 12th of May, 1797, with the permission of the Austrians, who had already surrendered, he appeared before the city of Venice. Their Doge, Luigi Manini, being paralyzed with fear, the Grand Council sur-

rendered their authority without resistance and the oligarchy fell. Her galleys were destroyed, and the "Golden Book," in which were enrolled the names of all the Doges, was burned, while "the bronze horses which Enrico Dandolo had brought from Constantinople and Luciano Doria had sworn he would bridle," were carried off to Paris.

During a general revolt in Genoa, which took place in May, 1797, the French frigate was captured and many families who were loyal to the French were sent into exile. Napoleon came to their rescue, however, and put down the revolt. The Genoese government then had to pay an indemnity for the frigate destroyed and to recall the banished French families. A republican Constitution was set up, modeled after the French republic, and later was called the Ligurian republic. The Anconian republic was soon instituted in the same manner.

At the peace of Campo-Formio, in October, 1797, hostilities between Austria and France were suspended. Lombardy, Parma, Modena, the Papal States of Bologna, Ferrara and Romagna, were given up, and the Venetian territory to the Adige boundary was inaugurated into the Cisalpine republic, in which the Cispadine republic was absorbed. Napoleon's other republics in central Italy were added the year after. To pacify the Austrians for the territory they had surrendered, the Venetian cities were again given over to them, the Austrian government being set up on the Adriatic the next year. Notwithstanding that this dishonorable treatment of Venice, together with similar proceedings in other parts of Italy, contradicted the promises held out by Napoleon, the terms which the Austrians were obliged to make at Campo

Formio modified the condition of the Italian States ever after; since from the Cisalpine republic flattering ideas of liberty spread in every direction, and from the reforms established by Napoleon's free institutions the principle of equal rights was disseminated.

The capital of the Cisalpine republic was Milan, and its Legislature consisted of a Senate and House of Representatives, every respectable and self-supporting man at the age of twenty-one being entitled to the right of citizenship.

On leaving Italy in 1798, before his Egyptian campaign, Napoleon exhorted the people to hold fast the liberty he had worked out and to prove themselves deserving of the good fortune awaiting them.

Napoleon's success so aroused the enthusiasm of the Italian patriots that they gladly supported the troops with which France had armed their fortresses; and thus the new republic was strengthened against the powerful monarchies of Europe, which were anxious lest little by little the whole country should be revolutionized. England was so alarmed because her lower classes sympathised with Napoleon's republican movement, that she resolved to do her utmost to annihilate the French republics and restore the Bourbon governments; and even in Italy the more conservative saw that it was Napoleon's aim to establish, not Italian, but French republics in the peninsula, and recognized that the taxes for his glorious victories must be paid by them.

Pius VI., thinking that the Austrians were sure to conquer in the end, was recreant to his pledges given to Napoleon; accordingly, during 1797, the latter entered the Papal States and, besides making the Pope

pay a large sum of money, he compelled him to give up the cities of Avignon and Vennais, in addition to the towns already surrendered. Revolutions encouraged by the French also arose, and the Romans to retaliate attacked the French embassy. After this, on the 27th of November, 1798, Napoleon entered the Holy City and proclaimed the Tiberine republic, announcing that the temporal power of the Pope had fallen. Pope Pius VI. was seized, the Vatican plundered and its art treasures sent to Paris. The Pope was exiled to France, where he died at Valence in 1799.

Not long after this Ferdinand of Naples, excited by the idea of Nelson's victories over Napoleon's forces in Egypt, thought he was strong enough to defy France and re-establish the Pope, especially as Napoleon himself had left for Egypt in the May of 1798. Accordingly, during November Ferdinand occupied Rome with an army of sixty thousand; but the French soon returned and, having routed the Neapolitans in several battles, they drove them back to their kingdom. King Ferdinand took refuge with Lord Nelson's fleet, anchored in the harbor of Naples, and afterwards retired to Sicily. The republicans now admitted the French into Naples, where, in 1799, the Parthenopian republic was set up.

The last sovereign in Italy to yield his kingdom to Napoleon was Charles Emanuel IV., who had succeeded Victor Amadeus III.; but the French had gradually worked their way into Piedmont, and, having taken possession in 1798, they obliged Charles Emanuel IV. to give up his throne and withdraw to the island of Sardinia, since, although professing friendship for the French, he was suspected of treachery; and they

did not dare to leave the key to the Alps in the hands of a recognized hostile power. In 1802 this unfortunate king entered a Jesuit monastery, where he remained until his death. His son, Victor Emanuel I., succeeded him that year as ruler of the island of Sardinia. Piedmont was at the same time annexed to France, and, together with all the other continental possessions of the Kingdom of Sardinia, belonged to that nation for twelve years.

Soon after this the Grand Duke of Tuscany was forced to flee to Austria, and thus the whole of the Italian peninsula, except the Duchy of Parma, Piacenza, Venice and the little republic of San Marino, was in the power of the French.

When Napoleon sailed for Egypt, England, Austria, Russia, Turkey and Naples engaged in a Second Coalition; and early in 1799 General Suwaroff, with a strong army of Russians and Austrians, entered Lombardy. The French were obliged to retire to Genoa, where they were blockaded by an English fleet; and after a succession of great victories on the part of the allies the French republics on the peninsula were overthrown. The Bourbons in Naples, encouraged by this, were guilty of great cruelties against those who tried to defend themselves. Lord Nelson returned with the King and Queen of Naples, and, in spite of their capitulation, he had the French chained in pairs in the dungeon of his warships. Many of the people, worn out by persecution, voluntarily exiled themselves in France, and carried the idea of liberty with them, among them being Botta, the historian. The more humane king, shocked at such barbarities, returned to Sicily, leaving his wife to administer affairs, in company with Lady Hamilton, who had com-

plete control over her. Queen Caroline is said to have been brought to encourage these outrages against those who sympathized with the French on account of the late execution of her sister Marie Antoinette. Nelson has been greatly criticised on account of his harsh conduct at that time.

The Battles of Verona, Novi and Trebbia well-nigh exterminated the French troops in Italy, the few that remained finding hiding-places in the Alps. Some of the old governments in Italy were restored, and a new Pope, Pius VII., was appointed and installed in Rome; and, besides this, the other powers were threatening to invade France itself. The allied armies were already assembling on the frontier of the Rhine, while everywhere at sea the French had been worsted by the English; and even in France itself the people were trying to upset the government.

Napoleon, however, returned from Egypt on the 9th of October, and on the 9th of November, 1799 (18th Brumaire), proceeded to overthrow the Directory. On the 27th of the same month he made himself First Consul. England and Austria, however, refused to make terms unless France would agree to establish the Bourbon dynasty. After the allied armies on the Rhine were forced to retire, Napoleon, having brought an army of sixty-five thousand men together at Dijon, commenced new operations to recover Italy. The passage over the Great St. Bernard, was accomplished between the 16th and 20th of May, 1800, with extreme difficulty, each man having to lead his horse by the bridle on the brink of the precipices; but when they arrived at the summit completely exhausted, the monks at the hospice provided the soldiers with refreshment.

On the 14th of June, 1800, Napoleon gained lasting renown by his victory over the Austrians on the bloody field of Marengo. It is said that he would have been defeated except for General Desaix, who, while out reconnoitering at the time, heard the fighting and thought the battle lost. He exclaimed, however: "It is only three o'clock, and there is time to win another." He then joined Napoleon, and, though he himself was slain, the result was a splendid victory. This battle drove the Austrians out of Italy; but the allied powers, even as early as this, had made up their minds that there could be no peace without Napoleon's overthrow.

When Murat, with twenty-eight thousand men, was sent to quell the insurrection raised by Ferdinand IV. of Naples, Queen Caroline went to St. Petersburg to implore the intercession of the Czar. She succeeded so far that France, hoping to gain the alliance of Russia, permitted the Bourbons to remain in Naples on condition that they should agree to the terms of the Continental Blockade.

In 1801 the treaty of Campo-Formio was confirmed by the Treaty of Luneville; and the Cisalpine republic was re-established. Later Napoleon changed the Constitution somewhat, and made himself president of what was now called the Italian republic, a vice-president also being appointed. It was intended, however, to leave it for the most part free to govern itself. Piedmont and the Duchy of Parma, including Piacenza, were also attached to France. In the May of 1801 Napoleon made a monarchy of the Grand Duchy of Tuscany, and called it the Kingdom of Etruria. In order to pacify the Spanish Bourbons and to attach them to France, this was given to the Duke of Parma,

whom they had just deprived of his duchy, and who had married the daughter of Charles IV. of Spain.

It was hoped when Napoleon appeared in 1804 as Emperor of France that the monarchs of Europe might be appeased, since the republican form of government had been so distasteful to them. But England, far from being taken in by this device, would not consent to grant peace on Napoleon's terms.

The next year Napoleon changed the Cisalpine or Italian republic into a monarchy, and the Ligurian republic was amalgamated with it. He then crossed the Alps, and, being joined by Pope Pius VII., on the 26th of May, 1805, in the Cathedral of Monza near Milan, took the Crown of Lombardy and placed it upon his own brow, saying: "It is from God; a curse on him who touches it." Napoleon was accompanied by Josephine, from his love for whom no adulation of beautiful women was ever able to wean him. He appointed as viceroy of Italy, Josephine's son, Eugene Beauharnais, who became so beloved by his subjects that even down to the present generation he is referred to with affection. Napoleon immediately abolished the Legislative Assembly, and Italy became a monarchy with the same government as France; for, though he planned to separate France and Italy in the future, he thought it necessary that at first they should remain in the same kingdom in order to accustom the Italian States, which had so long been disunited, to live under common laws; therefore he said he would begin by making them French.

That same year Europe made a Third Coalition, and a large Austrian army under Archduke Charles took the field in Italy. Then Napoleon marched upon Vienna, and the celebrated Battle of Austerlitz was

fought, December 2, 1805. This overwhelming defeat forced the Austrians to cede the whole of Venetia to Bonaparte, at the Treaty of Presburg on the 26th of December. The latter joined it to his Italian kingdom, and Francis II. was forced not only to lay down the scepter of the German-Roman Empire, but obliged to acknowledge Napoleon's sway.

Just after Austerlitz, Napoleon heard that the Bourbons had again admitted the British into the harbor of Naples, and were assailing the French in the rear. He then made a proclamation announcing the punishment of that kingdom, and told the army that, though after Lodi and the other battles he had suspected Naples of treason, he had shown her particular favor out of consideration for Russia, and had respected her nominal neutrality; and after the Battle of Marengo he had again pardoned the king and had dealt more than generously with an enemy who had done everything to destroy himself; but he now pronounced the dynasty of Naples at an end. The Bourbon family at once took refuge in Sicily; and in March, 1806, Napoleon had his brother Joseph crowned King of Naples. During the short time that Joseph reigned he made many permanent civil and military improvements, opening new roads, draining marshes and causing the peasants to work for good pay. In 1808 Napoleon made Joseph King of Spain, and appointed Murat, his brother-in-law, King of Naples in Joseph's stead. The people had been very fond of Joseph, but they became equally attached to Murat. Capri, having at that time been taken from Sir Hudson Low, was annexed to Naples.

The provinces of Basilicata, Calabria and the Abruzzi were at this time overrun with brigands, and a

large force of these, encouraged by the priesthood and the Bourbons, joined an insurrection which Queen Caroline had incited against the French. Great cruelties were practiced on both the French and the English side in a desultory warfare, which continued until 1811.

Pius VII. wished to have the temporal power of the Pope restored; and, on Napoleon refusing, His Holiness declined to enter into any agreement with France. Accordingly Napoleon, since he would have no hostile power under him, proceeded to annex and occupy the Papal States.

After the great Battle of Wagram Napoleon heard that the Pope had hurled a Bull of Excommunication against him; and Murat, at the end of the year 1809, seized the pontiff and had him imprisoned in the Palace of Fontainebleau, where he remained until the downfall of Napoleon in 1814. The King of Etruria, formerly Duke of Parma, with his son and his mother, the regent, were forced to find a temporary asylum in Spain; and during the same year Bonaparte again made Tuscany a Grand Duchy and appointed his sister Eliza, whom he had already made Duchess of Lucca and Princess of Piombino, Grand Duchess. By thus cutting up Italy for the maintenance of his family, Napoleon kept it subservient to himself, and at the same time built up a new French aristocracy, which made his court surpass in brilliancy the one sacrificed in the Revolution. His governments were carried on according to the demands of justice; and besides revising the barbarous laws he made new ones so perfect that they still continue to be used in jurisprudence.

It was at this era that the idea of a United Italy was first infused into the hearts of the people, this harmo-

nious feeling being greatly developed by the fact "that the natives of all parts of Italy fought side by side in the armies of Napoleon." The historian Balbo says: "Of all the periods of servitude this was the most glorious, and from this time the name of Italy was pronounced with increasing love and honor."

Napoleon afterwards at St. Helena wrote out a paper showing that he had planned to unite the Venetians, the Milanese, Piedmontese, Genoese, Tuscans and all the other Italian States into one great nation, with Alpine boundaries and the Adriatic, the Ionian and Mediterranean seas for protection, and to leave it all as a "trophy of his glory." He had intended in this way to shut out Austria and to guard the route to the Orient. Rome was to be the capital of this glorious country which Petrarch referred to as "a beautiful land divided by the Apennines, surrounded by the sea and the Alps." Napoleon thought that it would take thirty years to complete this project; and most people believe that if he had spent his entire energies in consolidating Italy he would never have lost the prestige gained, for the union which he conceived and partly executed was the harbinger of what Italy became a little more than a half century later, after many and bitter struggles.

Under Napoleon's régime improvements were vast. It was he who established the army organization, such as has come down to the present day. He constructed new roads and engineered important systems of canals, besides beautifying cities with graceful memorial arches, and encouraging the population of the country districts to engage in agricultural pursuits.

Napoleon also commenced the renovation of Rome. The ruins of eighteen hundred years in the Forum and



AUTHORS.

Tasso.

Petrarch.

Boccaccio.

Dante.

d'Annunzio.

on the Palatine were soon excavated, and the imposing columns of the temples and wonderful old palaces were restored in their original grace and stateliness. In the Colosseum the iron flood-gates which had admitted water for naval displays and the doors of the dens of the wild beasts leading into the amphitheater were discovered; and even the bronze rings to which the Christian martyrs used to be chained were again visible; while the marvelous auditorium, with some of the seats still numbered, all together having the capacity of accommodating eighteen thousand spectators, was thrown open. After clearing away rubbish eighteen feet deep in the center of the Forum, earlier the location of rude villages, a beautiful pavement, thought to be the old *Sacra Via*, was disclosed with the marks of the chariots which had served in the old Roman triumphs. The little Temple of Vesta was also exhumed, and excavations were made in the Baths of Titus, where the famous Laocoön was discovered. Napoleon had also begun to turn aside the course of the Tiber, revealing the wonderful treasures of art thrown in there at the time of the Gothic invasion. Since Napoleon had intended to make the Quirinal palace his home, it was beautified and refashioned into something of the comfort and magnificence which characterizes it to-day. The war horses attached to the fountain in front of this palace are among the few things which had never been buried. In spite of this progressive spirit, Italy was for the time being brought into great straits, since Napoleon divided and sub-divided, set up and demolished, according to his will.

The people of Sicily, jealous of being deprived of the new institutions and resources developing in other

parts of Italy, made a pressure upon King Ferdinand IV. for the granting of a constitution after the English model, and he was forced to abdicate in favor of his son Francis, as Vicar-General, January 16, 1812. Queen Caroline resisted English protection, and, being unpopular on account of the extravagance and luxury of her court, and on account of her cruelty, the English banished her and sent her back to Vienna, where she died in September, 1814.

Naples continued an independent kingdom, divided, like all the nations, into the Liberals and a despotic party. The Kingdom of Sardinia, under the rule of Victor Emanuel I., was sustained by the English fleet in spite of the restlessness of the people, who were always comparing their condition unfavorably with other parts of Italy. The French provinces of Italy were united under Louis Napoleon, and afterwards given to Count Borghese, the husband of Napoleon's sister, the beautiful Pauline Bonaparte, whose incomparably fine reclining statue is still seen in their late home, the Borghese Villa. This magnificent park, including the galleries with gardens adjoining, has been lately purchased by the Italian government and will be kept as a museum of the State.

Napoleon had raised Lombardy from the lowest condition of national life to prominence in all the environments which tend to prosperity. Among the radical changes, the famous road over the Simplon connecting Lombardy and Switzerland was constructed, the expense of one million two hundred thousand dollars being borne by France and Italy unitedly. To this day the Lombard people look back upon Napoleon's reign as among the "brightest of Italian days"; for he had taken care to confer all the offices of State of any con-

sequence upon native Italians, and not only kept the people united, but pacified the principal citizens all over Italy. In view of his distinguished services, after his banishment to Elba, he was invited by the authorities at Turin to accept the leadership of the government, in view of receiving the crown of united Italy.

CHAPTER XII

THE FALL OF NAPOLEON'S ITALIAN MONARCHY.—AUSTRIA AGAIN IN THE ASCENDANCY.—ADVANCED IDEAS OF THE PEOPLE.—OLD CONSERVATIVE GOVERNMENTS RESTORED.—THE CARBONARI.—ALL ITALY AROUSED.—REVOLUTIONS OF 1821, 1830, AND 1848.—MAZZINI, CAVOUR AND GARIBALDI.

1812—1848 A.D.

THE destruction of Napoleon commenced when he planned his disastrous campaign of 1812; for this mighty undertaking resulted in the annihilation of his large army in the snowfields of Russia. His selfishness, as shown in sacrificing so many thousand lives for his own aggrandizement, became at this time more and more apparent; and the people, weary of his despotism, forgot his wonderful achievements and soon ignored the regenerating influences he had set in motion. Thus, when all the nations of Europe united against him, the great demi-god fell.

When the crisis came, Murat, hoping not to be removed, entered into negotiations with Austria. He left Naples with a large army, bound for upper Italy, without disclosing his disloyalty to viceroy Eugene. The latter, desiring to keep his throne, after he had learned of Napoleon's complete downfall in France, and that the English had occupied Leghorn and Genoa, declared his willingness to submit to the rule of the allied powers. The Senate also was about to intercede in Eugene's behalf; but the people of Lom-

bardly, in spite of their love for him personally, were so tired of French government that they broke into a mob, and Eugene was obliged to surrender the fortress of Mantua to the Austrians. Thus, when a few days later the Austrian army entered Milan, the French kingdom in Italy fell.

In 1815 the Allies, who had entered Paris on May 31, 1814, met in a Congress at Vienna to arrange the ultimate status of the countries which Bonaparte had absorbed and now lost. Austria received all the mainland of Venice and the whole of Lombardy to the Ticino on the west; and on the south as far as the Po, under the name of the Lombardy-Venetian kingdom. Victor Emanuel I. was given back Piedmont and Savoy, with the addition of the provinces of Genoa; and on the 20th of May, after an interim of sixteen years, he was received back to Turin with great joy by the people. He immediately commenced, fossil as he was, the same régime which had been abandoned nearly twenty years before, reinstating all the old officers in a body, without ascertaining how many of them had died during French rule, for he said that he "regarded the intervening epoch as a dream."

The Grand Duchy of Tuscany was given to Ferdinand, the brother of the Emperor of Austria, with a revenue of fourteen million, and the States of the Church, including Bologna, Ferrara, Forli and Ravenna, consisting of a population of three million, and a standing army of sixteen thousand, were all restored to the Pope, the sixteen departments being sometimes called the Northern Legations. Pope Pius VII., having been liberated, returned to Rome. He proceeded to reorganize the order of the Jesuits, and re-estab-

lished the Inquisition; but the Jesuits, unadapted to the newly developed emergencies, soon lost ground.

The Duchy of Parma, including Piacenza, was, with Guastalla, assigned by the allies to Marie Louise, wife



of Napoleon, and daughter of the Emperor of Austria, who was not allowed to share Napoleon's exile. The Spanish Bourbons were given Lucca, but on Marie

Louise's death Parma was to be restored to them and they were then to relinquish Lucca to the Austrian Ferdinand III., Grand Duke of Tuscany. Francis IV., son of Beatrice d'Este, the daughter of the late Duke Hercules III., received the Duchy of Modena.

There was one republic left, and that was the tiny principality of San Marino, surrounded by the Apennine mountains and the Papal States, which in early times served as a bulwark between the Montefeltro and the Malatesta. Through all the centuries it had "observed the storms which had desolated Italy at its feet," and ever since the time when it was first recognized, in 1631, no nation had been mean enough to usurp authority over it. During the reign of Philip V. of Spain, in the eighteenth century, Cardinal Alberoni gained permission from Pope Clement XII. to destroy this ancient government; but the latter was obliged, on account of opposition, to withdraw his consent and to confirm the privileges of the State.

Although San Marino consists of only thirty-three square miles, with a population of about ten thousand, which would be considered in the United States hardly more than a small country district, it is entirely self-supporting, and is governed by two presiding officers elected every six months, one from the aristocracy and one from the people. San Marino was established in the fifth century as a hermitage by a stonemason named Marinus, and under him it grew into a community of seven thousand persons, its very insignificance preventing it, during all these years, from being blotted out. Marinus afterwards was dubbed a saint, his bones having been restored to the town by Pepin the Short, the father of Charlemagne.

The Bourbon Dynasty was restored in the Two

Sicilies under King Ferdinand I. in 1816. Ignoring his other titles, "Ferdinand IV. of Naples" and "Ferdinand III. of Sicily," he reigned as Ferdinand I. of the United Kingdom of the Two Sicilies. Murat had governed in Naples through the latter part of the Napoleonic era, and had not given up his crown during the time of Napoleon's banishment to Elba. The question of the Ferdinands and Francis in Sicily, the Two Sicilies and Naples, is especially confusing, princes with the same titles seeming to appear at intervals sometimes of centuries. This is on account of the intricacies in the separation and union of these kingdoms from earliest times, which often makes a prince of the same name governing Sicily appear to reign in Naples much later.

Outside of Naples, Italy, as is seen, was left by the powers virtually a province of Austria, and governed for the most part by Austrian princes.

The allies at Vienna had not yet brought their treaties and festivities to a close when they learned that Napoleon had escaped from Elba; but the Battle of Waterloo soon decided his fate.

The people of Italy at this time assisted the allies in expelling the common enemy; but they were disappointed in the results, since Italy was only used as a puppet in the hands of the ambitious monarchs of Europe. The Holy Roman Empire that was founded by Augustus, re-dedicated by Charlemagne, and nominally restored by Otto the Great, had been in reality for many years only the Empire of Austria, and had come to an abrupt close after Austerlitz by the enforced abdication of Francis II.

The peace of Italy was additionally disturbed by an attempt by Murat to be reinstated in his kingdom.

Austria had consented that he should continue King of Naples; but, distrusting her loyalty, and thinking that his friends, the Neapolitans, would join him in upholding Napoleon, Murat went over to him; and when the latter landed, he tried at the head of forty thousand men to overcome the Austrian force in northern Italy. He was driven back, however, and, abandoned by his troops; he then fled to Naples, thence to France, and afterwards to Corsica. Having returned, he reached the coast of lower Calabria with thirty followers, but was seen and seized by some of Ferdinand's soldiers; and condemned by the king, being given only half an hour to prepare for death. During these valued moments he received absolution and wrote a pathetic letter to his family. This happened on the very day on which Napoleon arrived in St. Helena.

It was soon seen that methods of thought as well as manners and customs had been changed by Napoleon's invasion. In the reaction from fierce political excitement the people diverted their minds by games of chance and lotteries, this being the beginning of the gaming fever which has proved such a curse to Italy. Indeed, it has been said that the place which alcoholic intoxication usually occupies is replaced in southern Italy by the frenzy for gambling. Secret societies at this time also sprang up, formed among violent men for the purpose of getting rid of Austrian rule in Italy, and of setting up a democratic government; but it was soon proved that the deliverance of Italy had to be accomplished by efficient workers, men willing to bide their time.

The Carbonari was the name of a secret society organized in the Kingdom of Naples during the first

year of the nineteenth century, the influence of which increased on the restoration of the Bourbons, in whose ranks many of this fraternity were found. A plot to murder the Viceroy of Milan instigated by them failed; but on the 2d of July, 1820, encouraged by the success of an insurrection in Spain, the people of Avellino demanded a Constitution. The governor reluctantly joined the two lieutenants, Morelli and Silvati, who commanded one hundred and twenty-seven men, and went forth from Nola under the tri-colored (black, red and blue) banner of this society, with their watch cry of "For God, King and Constitution." On the night of the 5th of July General Pepe, in charge of the garrison of Salerno, left Naples for the purpose of leading the revolutionists. King Ferdinand, leaving the government to his son Francis, with the title of Vicar, granted a Constitution under duress, and then fled to Leyback, where the Holy Alliance between Austria, Prussia and Russia was convened. The ministry which was now formed by the Liberals promised a Constitution like that set up by Napoleon.

Palermo, which with the rest of Sicily, had enjoyed a Constitution in the Napoleonic period, received the news with great rejoicing and proceeded to expel the Bourbon troops, though all the rest of the Neapolitan kingdom still endorsed the old government.

This excitement was the signal for an uprising in the Papal States. Piedmont also broke out into an insurrection, and the people tried to force the king to adopt a Constitution like that of Naples, hoping by their liberal policy to be able, as they did some years afterwards, to take the lead in Italian politics; but Victor Emanuel I., although he could not forget that

the Austrians had done nothing to keep his father, Charles Emanuel III., on the throne, was obliged to join the alliance at Leyback in the spring of 1821, and could not yield to their demands. Therefore when the citadel fell into the hands of the Constitutionalists, he abdicated in favor of his brother, Charles Felix. In the absence of the latter, Charles Albert, Prince of Carignani, was made regent; and the same day he was inveigled into adopting the Constitution. Charles Albert was descended in another line from Thomas Francis, a brother of Victor Amadeus I., both of these princes being sons of the illustrious Charles Emanuel the Great.

Encouraged by the sympathy of the British government, Austria, Russia and Prussia sent their armies to put an end to this republican movement. The new Constitutions were destroyed and the patriots executed and exiled. Some managed to escape, however, and led a miserable existence in foreign countries. Ferdinand I. was reinstated on his throne, and the Neapolitans were forced to bear the expense of supporting the immense Austrian army which was left in occupation.

The Austrians now took possession of all the fortresses and entered Turin in triumph. Charles Felix, who had never supported the liberal measures endorsed by Charles Albert in his absence, declared that he would not adopt the government established by the latter. Charles Albert was urged to break altogether with his cousin; but, being scarcely more than twenty-three years of age and inexperienced, he saw no way to free himself from the political entanglements. Accordingly, he secretly left Turin and, not succeeding in gaining an interview with Charles Felix,

he sought the home of his father-in-law, the Grand Duke of Tuscany.

The royal party, aided by the Austrian troops, forced the revolutionists to retire, and in 1821 the revolution ended. The people of Genoa received the exiled patriots, and gave them money; and some of the most sympathetic even proposed with them to form a nucleus of a party for future resistance. But the revolutionists admonished them that the time was not yet ripe.

Italy was shrouded in gloom for many years and the people were reduced by taxation to intolerable destitution. From this time up to the revolution of 1830, few events of importance occurred.

The greater number of the Piedmontese patriots who had joined the insurrection of 1821 finally took refuge in Spain or fought for Greek independence. Among these last was a comrade of Charles Albert, Santorre della Santarosa, who met death in 1825 like a hero.

Ferdinand of Naples' minister, Canosa, having terrorized the people into something like order by imprisonment and death, the Austrian troops entered Naples on the 23d of March, the leaders of the revolution at Avellino being executed among the first. On the 5th of May, 1821, the miserable Ferdinand I. died; and in 1830 Francis I., who was more wicked than his father, also died, and was succeeded by his son, Ferdinand II.

Having made the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom a great fortress, with which to overawe all Italy, Austria committed the most monstrous outrages against the Italian people and nobility. Among such instances was that of one Federigo Confaloniere, suspected of

complicity with the Piedmontese revolution. He was suddenly alarmed one day by a visit from the Austrian marshal; and on trying to escape by a secret staircase in his house he was seized and sent to languish and die in a dungeon at Spielberg.

The Austrians and the clergy hoped to persuade Charles Felix to cut off altogether his cousin, Charles Albert, who was inclined to liberalism, and, ignoring the Salic Law, to leave the throne to Francis of Modena, who had married the sister of Charles Albert. The latter, however, would not agree to this; but after calling his cousin to his court he obliged him, as a concession to the Holy Alliance, to enroll himself among the troops sent to Spain by them for the purpose of demolishing the Constitutional government lately set up there. Thus Charles Albert was called upon to crush out the same principles which he had formerly advocated, and at this time to fight against forces partly made up of those patriots who had been driven out of Piedmont.

After the Napoleonic era every ambitious leader entertained a hope that by espousing the cause of the people he might be made head of the State. In the beginning of 1831 Francis of Modena united with Ciro Menotti, a rich manufacturer of Modena, in the leadership of a revolutionary league. Among the members was Louis Philippe, the Duke of Orleans, who, hoping to gain recognition of his title of King of France, divulged the whole plot to the Austrians; at the same time Francis of Modena also proved false and wrote to Vienna to warn the court against Louis Philippe himself, implicating the rest of his colleagues. Menotti soon found that Francis of Modena had deceived him, and instigated an insurrection during

which Francis was obliged to flee to the Austrian garrison at Mantua; but he took care to have Menotti brought along with him as prisoner.

In 1831 Pope Gregory XVI., who had recently been elected, was also having trouble in Romagna, on account of the same revolution; and the Duchess of Parma, becoming involved, was obliged to flee. It was in the course of this revolution of 1830 that the two young Bonapartes first appeared, one of them dying afterwards at the massacre of Forli, and the other being the subsequent King of France.

The Pope had been forced to leave Rome, and a provisional government was set up everywhere; but the Austrians came to the aid of the Pope and brought back Francis of Modena and the Duchess of Parma. Francis, when restored, did not spare his former comrades. He imprisoned some, executed others, and was not even merciful to Ciro Menotti, whom he had promised to protect.

Although the revolts of 1831 had been put down, the French were uneasy because of the power of the Austrians in the Papal States; and in 1832 Louis Philippe sought to check their influence by establishing a military post at Ancona. This was kept up until 1838, when the Austrians were obliged to evacuate.

Soon after the revolts in his kingdom were quelled, Charles Felix died in 1831, leaving no children; and Charles Albert succeeded to the throne. The latter's conduct had made Austrians and Italians alike doubtful of him, and the former hesitated to uphold him as King of Sardinia, while the Liberals in Italy considered that he had betrayed his colleagues who had sustained him in 1821. The people, however, hoped from his early course that he would take the lead in

throwing off the Austrian yoke; but this would have brought on a war with that nation, and he knew that without the aid of France, who did not support him, he was not powerful enough to meet it. The sorrow and perplexity he felt at the situation, and the doubt as to which course to follow, may be seen by the remark he made on ascending the throne: "I stand between the dagger of the Carbonari and the adulation of the Jesuits."

About this time Charles Albert received a fanatical anonymous epistle urging him to defy Austria and place himself at the head of the nation as the representative of advanced ideas. The letter told him that this was his opportunity to hand his name down to posterity, and impressed upon him that if he hoped to succeed he must consecrate himself to the work as to a holy mission. It recalled the hopes centered in him from the position he had taken in 1821, and urged that if he disappointed the expectations of the people opprobrium would succeed the joy which had greeted his succession; and the writer added: "You will be hailed by posterity as the first among the heroes or the last of Italian despots."

The author of these sentiments was Giuseppe Mazzini, a young Genoese who had been confined in Savona for complicity with the Carbonari. On receiving the message Charles Albert ordered the prosecution of the writer whenever he should appear in Piedmont. This was just as Mazzini had expected; for he had written the letter to undeceive the Radicals, who had trusted in Charles Albert's liberal principles; and now he organized a society called "Young Italy," whose object was to unite the nation and establish republican institutions. Though fanatical, impractical and

impatient of results, Mazzini was an eloquent speaker, and was the first Italian statesman to declare that "Italy might and must some day exist as one free nation." He and his party, aided by Crispi, were sanguine that, with an army of patriotic countrymen gathered from the ends of Italy, they might free their land from the Austrian yoke.

Charles Albert refused to lead the party, and Mazzini, incensed at his conservative attitude, made the mistake of tampering with the king's soldiers, and by drawing them away from their allegiance threatened to destroy the only military support upon which Italy could depend. In putting down these revolts, many were executed, while others sacrificed their lives, among these being Mazzini's most devoted follower and trusted friend, Joseph Ruffini, who committed suicide lest, maddened by some of the tortures, he should in a frenzy disclose his friend's methods of procedure.

Mazzini now established himself at Geneva, and, in January, 1833, with his army of exiles, sought to bring about a revolution in Savoy; but the undertaking was abortive, and he was obliged to hide for a time in London.

The Moderate party had confidence that Charles Albert would unite Italy and make her free; and accordingly they were content to wait. The man destined to unite this Moderate party, and make it a neutralizing force against the Liberals, was Count Camillo Benso di Cavour, who was born in 1810, and was accordingly two years younger than Mazzini. He was at this era writing articles for the *Resorgimento* in Turin, a journal in opposition to the Mazzini organ, the *Concordia*, and all the while he was devoting

himself to political research. Of the three leaders who soon became prominent, Mazzini was said to be the prophet, Cavour the statesman, and Garibaldi the knight errant of Italian independence. These three were all natives of the Kingdom of Sardinia. Mazzini was from Genoa, which hated the enforced rule of Turin; Garibaldi was from Nice, the darling of the people, and Cavour a scion from the old Piedmontese aristocracy. This was a loyal stock, tenacious, truthful and brave; and under its stolid exterior was hidden great political force. Cavour had the genius of the statesman, together with practical sense and great swiftness of detail; and though but for the others he could not have been the savior of Italy, without him Mazzini's fanatical effort would have been abortive, and Garibaldi's dexterous strokes in arms must have resulted in failure.

When Francis II. of Austria died, his weak-minded brother, Ferdinand I., ascended the throne, in 1835. He was so much of an imbecile, however, that even the mechanical effort of signing decrees was more of a task than he felt able to undertake, and thus the power fell into the hands of Metternich.

Several plots were made against the lives of rulers in Italy during the next decade; and it was not until this time that the Piedmontese, realizing that their sovereign's life was in danger, awoke to a sense of loyalty.

Up to this era the Popes, who had always been supported by the Austrians, were naturally in opposition to the Liberals. Pius IX., the successor of Gregory XVI., worked on a new basis, however, and declared himself a Liberal, proclaiming general amnesty to political prisoners and promoting liberty of

speech; and it soon began to look as if the restorer of Italian freedom walked among them in pontifical garb. Italy went wild with enthusiasm, much to the dissatisfaction of the radical republicans, who were the extremists in Rome; and frequent disturbances followed in the streets. Cardinals were attacked and the Papal Guards and police, not being strong enough to put down the riots, were obliged to accede to their demands.

On July 6, 1847, the Pope proceeded to form a National guard throughout the Papal States, while the Austrian government in turn despatched an army and took possession of Ferrara in spite of the Papal legate.

The following September the people rose against the Bourbon Duke in Lucca; and Tuscany, whose minister was Bettino Ricasoli, was soon roused. Events became more critical when the rulers in Parma and Modena were forced to allow Austria to garrison their cities as a defense against the Liberals.

These were a few among the series of events which caused Charles Albert to turn to his own people for support, declaring that if the Austrians dared to go further, he would fight to the death for Italy. As early as 1845 Massimo d'Azeglio brought before him the hopes of Italian patriots and their expectation that help would come from Piedmont. The king then replied without hesitation: "Tell these gentlemen that it is useless to act at present, but they may be sure that when opportunity comes, my life, the life of my son, my weapons, my treasure and my army shall all be used for the Italian cause."

The climax was reached when Austria taxed the Sardinian kingdom in the matter of wine and salt

for the purpose of testing her subservience, and as far back as the time when the Emperor required all the Italian rulers to be present in Milan to witness his coronation as sovereign of the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom, Charles Albert had flatly refused to accede to the demand.

The first sound of the new revolutionary movement came from Sicily, the 1st of January, 1848; and by the beginning of February the whole island was in a flame of revolt. This spread to Naples, and on the 28th of January Ferdinand II. of the Two Sicilies was obliged to promise a Constitution. The excitement advanced as far as Piedmont, and Cavour declared that a Constitution must be demanded and a statute given. This was granted by Charles Albert.

These demonstrations were re-echoed in Tuscany when Leopold II. promised a Constitution, and on the 14th of March the Pope granted a Constitution in the Papal States, a ministry having been previously established.

During the first of January the Austrians goaded the Milanese into a riot about the tobacco tax, three score of the inhabitants being slaughtered. The news of the Sicilian revolt and of the Constitution granted by Ferdinand II. reached the north about the same time that the revolution of 1848 stirred the whole of Europe in a great struggle for freedom. The revolution in Vienna, in which the Constitution was demanded and finally granted by the Emperor, followed; and Metternich, who had control of Ferdinand's government, and who had once said contemptuously that Italy was only a "geographical expression," was obliged to flee to England.

On the 18th of March Milan grew wild at the news

of these successes, and the people formed itself into a mob against the soldiery, barricading the streets, men, women and even children coming to the rescue of the insurgents. On the 20th of March they attacked the Hungarian garrison under General Radetsky, and he, with his army of fourteen thousand men, having been driven out of the city on the 21st, Milan was free. On the 22d the gate of the city was burned, and the tricolored flag waved from the highest point of the Cathedral."

When the news of what was going on had reached Venice, on the 17th of March, the people broke out into a riot, demanding that those incarcerated for political offenses should be set free; and on March 22 the whole city arose against the commandant of the arsenal, a provisional government being set up by Danieli Manin, a Venetian Jew. For six days the conflict raged, and General Zichy wrote to Vienna that it would take seventy thousand troops in addition to his eighty thousand to quell the mob. The other principal Venetian cities also capitulated, and on the 22d of March, 1848, "the fall of the Austrian dominion and the re-establishment of the Venetian republic were proclaimed together from St. Mark's Square."

On the 23d of March immediately following, the news flashed over the country like lightning that Milan was free and that the Austrians had retreated, a messenger arriving in Turin to implore Charles Albert to send an army to help defend Lombardy. Count Cavour appeared with an article in the *Resorgimento*, saying that the hour had arrived on which the fate of the Empire and the destiny of the people hung like a thread, and that "doubt, hesitation and

delay were no longer possible." Then the crowd surrounded the royal palace at Turin, and when at midnight Charles Albert appeared with the tricolored flag in his hand, the enthusiasm of the people was beyond description; for at that moment the "dynasty of Savoy and the Piedmontese rule were united in consecration to the freedom of Italy."

The following morning Charles Albert issued a proclamation, saying that his soldiers were now ready to send that aid which only a "friend can give a friend and brother a brother"; and that when his troops should enter the Lombardo-Venetian territory "They would march under the shadow of the tricolored flag with the armorial bearings of Savoy."

These sentiments awakened a response all over Italy. Modena, Reggio, Parma, Piacenza, Tuscany, the Pope, and even the King of Naples, were compelled to pledge their support, and Sicily dispatched a goodly number of volunteers. In all the decades of centuries of Italian history this was the first time that Italy from north to south and east to west had risen with a harmonious sentiment against the public enemy.

CHAPTER XIII

THE DEFEAT OF CHARLES ALBERT.—RESIGNS IN FAVOR OF HIS SON.—HIS MELANCHOLY DEATH.—VICTOR EMANUEL II.'S LIBERAL REIGN.—CAREER OF CAVOUR.—LOUIS NAPOLEON RESTORES THE POPE.—MASSIMO D'AZEGLIO.

1848—1859 A.D.

THE enthusiasm attending these liberal movements kept Charles Albert firm in his resolution to deliver Italy from the yoke of Austria. Volunteers from all parts of Italy enlisted under his banner, and in the last part of April, 1848, at the head of seventy-five thousand men, he joined the patriots at Milan. In all, ninety thousand volunteers were engaged against the fifty thousand veteran soldiers under the aged Radetsky, who, unfortunately for the volunteers, was a host in himself. Accordingly the struggle dragged on month after month, until finally, when Radetsky was heavily reinforced, Charles Albert had to retire at the Battle before Santa Lucia, the trouble being that he exhibited no originality of action, but little discretion, and lacked military genius. But after this he successfully besieged the fortress of Peschiera and gained a victory at the Bridge of Goito. His troops, however, were scattered from the mountains north of Verona to Mantua; and the Pope's army in June had already surrendered to Radetsky. Still Charles Albert resisted bravely, with half of his army at Custoza for three days, "four brigades holding their own against

five Austrian army corps," notwithstanding that they were overcome by the heat and many other demoralizing circumstances. But at last he was completely defeated on the 25th of July.

In the meantime, events in the other parts of the peninsula had not been standing still. As early as the 29th of April Pope Pius had announced his intention of withdrawing from the contest as soon as he could recall his troops, who were already engaged near Verona under General Pepe. Ferdinand II. of the Two Sicilies also took this opportunity to retire; and the rest of the Italians, jealous of Charles Albert's growing power, cooled in their enthusiasm. Venice had formed herself into an independent republic, and in Milan the more advanced Liberals had come out against the king. Charles Albert thus found himself fighting alone in this gigantic struggle; and all these disagreements served to rouse discontent in the ranks of the army, interrupting concerted action and lessening the bravery of the troops.

Accordingly, after the defeat at Custoza, on the 25th of July, when Charles Albert, instead of protecting his retreat, turned toward Milan, still unsuccessfully fighting the enemy, his entrance as he approached the city was a very different affair from what he had formerly imagined—"No huzzahs of the people, no acclamations of victory and no shouts of triumph met his ear. Instead of these he saw only anger at his failure. The streets were barricaded, bells tolled, and all was in the attitude of heroic defense." Accordingly the officers soon decided that it would be folly to hold out any longer, and terms of capitulation were signed. The people went wild at this terrible news, some even imputing disloyalty

to Charles Albert. Then the latter offered to fall fighting with the Milanese if they still wished to resist. The government thought best, however, to ratify the treaty of surrender, and that night, when the king tried to address the crowd, guns were fired and the rage of the exasperated mob was so great that Charles Albert was obliged to withdraw secretly, since he had left the greater part of his troops outside the gates.

Consequently Charles Albert went out of the city on foot, many Lombard families accompanying him into his own territory. There he issued a proclamation, saying that he was not unaware of the aspersions with which some would tarnish his name, but that "God and his conscience were witnesses to the integrity of his actions, which the impartial judgment of posterity would justify." He said: "Every pulsation of my heart has been for Italian independence, but Italy has not yet shown herself strong enough to accomplish this alone."

Thus, in less than half a year's time Italy had learned that liberty cannot be gained contending over barricades, but that there must be firm and harmonious action to insure freedom to a nation.

The House of Savoy, now in dust, could no longer think of governing Sicily. Accordingly Charles Albert's second son, the Duke of Genoa, declined the crown of the Two Sicilies just proffered him. Before King Ferdinand was victorious, however, nearly ten thousand Neapolitans were slain in a riot, and the severest measures were necessary to put the revolution down; the Constitution in the meantime being sacrificed. Finally in September, 1848, Ferdinand bombarded Messina, and, after the general massacre usual in the Sicilian kingdom, the city fell.

It was said that the reason of all these failures was that the King of Sardinia feared a victory for the republicans more than Austrian subjugation. But Mazzini at this very time comprehended that the flag of Italy "trailed in the dust" because it was not yet the badge of the republican idea.

Meanwhile, after the Battle of Custoza, all the northern kingdoms had been subdued by the Austrians, although the famous leader Garibaldi for some time kept up an irregular warfare. This wonderful adventurer, having been exiled on account of complicity with Mazzini, had been leading a life of daring in South America. Charles Albert had refused his services in the beginning of the disturbances, because he was afraid of his fanatical republicanism; but Garibaldi sat as Deputy from Nice when the Piedmontese Parliament met in 1848. He joined the uprising in Milan during the middle of July, and later with his volunteers defended Brescia, until he was forced to retreat to the Alps the following October, having ignored the armistice of 1848, which Charles Albert was forced to make with the Austrians.

The Moderate faction during this crisis was nearly crushed, and the Pope and the republicans were anxious to push matters to the utmost. Count Pellegrino Rossi, seeing that the quarrel would give the Austrians an advantage, sought to mediate, and on November 15 he was struck down in the door of the Chamber. The people broke out into a riot, and the Pope, ten days later, having been forced to form a ministry, escaped in the disguise of a footman to Gaeta. Here he put himself under the protection of the King of Naples, and sent back word that his enforced action after the 15th of November was invalid.

On the 5th of February, 1849, in a Roman Assembly the temporal power of the Pope was once more declared at an end. A republic was then set up, the chief place being occupied by Mazzini as one of the Triumvirate, of which the two others were Safi and Armellini.

The Duke of Tuscany also fled to Gæta when the Liberals tried to compel him to organize a State according to their ideas under Guerazzi, Montanelli and Mazzini.

After Custoza, Charles Albert declared to the British and French ministers, when they wished to mediate, that "he must either abdicate or see an Italian republic established." He said that he had thought of giving up his crown after the campaign of 1848, but had deferred the plan from a desire to vindicate his own honor against the aspersions of his enemies. But he now saw that if he fought he must fight alone, and he feared this was useless.

On the 20th of March, the truce having been set aside, war broke out anew. The Austrians under Radetsky entered Piedmont with eight thousand troops, and Charles Albert having given up the command, his army was led by Czarnowsky, a Pole. This proved to be an unfortunate exchange, and as a result the campaign, from a strategic point of view, was a failure. The Piedmontese, after one or two successes, were defeated, first at Mortara, and then in the terrible battle at Novara.

It was a dreadful night, that 23d of March, when the Piedmontese soldiers scattered in flight, and Charles Albert, ascertaining that it was impossible to continue the struggle, saw that all was lost. The terms of the surrender were hard, and Charles Albert

would have gladly died fighting; but since he was denied this solace, he determined to leave Piedmont forever. As he departed from the scene of his calamities he said to one of his generals: "This is the last. I have exposed the life of my family and myself, and imperiled my throne, and I have failed. I am now the only obstacle to peace; and since I cannot sign the deathblow to Italian independence, I will make myself a final sacrifice to my country; and accordingly I lay down the crown and pass it over to my son, the Duke of Savoy."

Not waiting for daylight, Charles Albert set out that night on his self-appointed exile, and a few months after, this heroic monarch died, broken-hearted, at Oporto in Spain. His pathetic death silenced the discord of party strife; and when his body was brought home for burial on the Superga Heights, "Italy recognized his sterling virtue and made him her patron saint. Bands of pilgrims journeyed to his tomb, and from that time all felt that to do honor to his memory they must serve Italy"; and more and more the people pledged themselves to fidelity and to the unity which his son with undeviating energy soon brought about.

Victor Emanuel II. was born at Turin in 1820, and was brought up a rigid Catholic. He had little inclination for study and books, but later threw himself heart and soul into the Italian struggle for independence. In the battle at the Bridge of Goito he turned the tide of battle favorably by his bravery, and in every subsequent encounter he was seen in the thickest of the fight. He had withal a soldierly bearing and was a cheerful and jolly companion, his qualities being in strong contrast to the melancholy and secretive

character of his father, Charles Albert. He was very strong physically and fond of the chase; and many stories are told of his life as crown prince, while hunting in the Val de Cogne. He knew everybody in the region personally and was especially fond of the fair sex. Inured to hardship, he astonished his companions by his power to endure the vicissitudes of rough camping life. At two thousand meters above the sea he would camp out in a hunter's tent, rising at three o'clock to smoke his favorite pipe while promenading in the icy mountain air, all the time laughing at the fears of his suite about the danger from exposure.

For the purpose of checking his restless habits, a marriage was contracted for Victor Emanuel II. with the Archduchess Adelaide of Austria, a kind and genial companion whom he admired and always treated with confidence, though he cared nothing for social etiquette and position, if he found any other lady charming. His ministers were annoyed by his expensive habits; but he understood how to disarm criticism by a quick wit; and the fact that he finally opened the way to the independence and unity of Italy was atonement for all his shortcomings.

Victor Emanuel II., when he first ascended the throne, was obliged to make a compromise in favor of whatever terms Austria placed upon him, because the most powerful fortresses of Piedmont were in the latter's hands. On the 24th of March, 1849, he went to treat in person with Radetsky, who had hoped that, since Victor Emanuel II. had married the daughter of Archduke Reinier, "the tricolored flag would disappear from the country forever." Disappointed in this, Radetsky obliged the king to pay fifty million dollars ready money, and to garrison the Sardinian frontier

between the Ticino and Sesia, and also to disband nearly all the Piedmontese troops and to occupy the fortresses of Alessandria in common with the Austrians.

After the defeat of Charles Albert, at the end of October, 1848, the Austrians had moved on Venice, and kept the inhabitants defending the city all winter. General Haynau, who had already rendered his name infamous for all time at Brescia, finally removed his forces to Venice in the March of 1849, and tried to intimidate the government into surrendering; though from the beginning the situation was hopeless. On the 2d of April the Venetians heroically decided not to yield until the last resort. Under the able leadership of Daniele Manin, they made the day of their downfall one of the most illustrious in history. On the night of the 4th of May of the same year, after a disastrous attack under Marshal Radetsky, the victory belonged to the Venetians. The siege was kept up, however, for months, until famine was added to the terrors of war; but it was not until cholera succeeded famine that Daniele Manin consented to a consultation with the Austrian envoys, as the result of which hostilities ceased on the 22d of August. On the 24th papers of surrender were endorsed, and on the 30th Radetsky celebrated mass at St. Mark's.

Though Mazzini and his party were no longer in the ascendancy, the course pursued by such men as himself and Daniele Manin had taught the masses that with perseverance and their co-operation the longed-for union of Italy would soon become an accomplished fact. Daniele Manin was afterwards banished by the Austrians and died in exile as early as 1857. Ten years later his body was interred on the north side of

St. Mark's in Venice, where the inscription on his tomb is now read daily by interested tourists.

On the 29th of March, 1849, a revolt in Genoa was put down by a body of troops under Alphonso la Marmora; and on the 12th of April of the same year Leopold went back to Tuscany. But he disaffected the Moderate party, who had reinstated him, by returning under the protection of the Austrian militia, himself clothed in an Austrian uniform. Parma and Modena also replaced their dukes on the throne, and King Ferdinand of Naples kept his subjects trodden down by the help of foreign mercenaries.

Soon after the final defeat of Charles Albert it became evident that Austria intended to take possession of Rome and restore the Pope; and she gradually advanced her forces as far as Ancona. In the December of 1848 Louis Napoleon, having succeeded in obtaining the presidency of the French republic, saw that, though opposed to the Austrian movement, in order to have the support of the Church he must reinstate the Pope at Rome. He now despatched to Italy General Oudinot, who landed at Civita Vecchia in April with twenty-eight thousand men and besieged Rome. The Romans recalled Garibaldi and placed him in command of their forces. Ferdinand of Naples with his troops went out to help the Papal army, but was defeated by Garibaldi at Palestrina on May 11. Garibaldi, knowing that his handful of volunteers could accomplish nothing against the whole of the French army, temporarily made a truce with France; but General Oudinot declared that these negotiations were not valid, and for nearly four weeks Garibaldi, with his men and the extemporized Roman force fought outside the city. On the 13th of

June there was a memorable struggle, in which many of the Liberals fell, thus immortalizing their names, Goffredo Mameli, the young poet, being among the number. In the contest the French made a large break in the wall, so that on July 2 the gates of the city were opened to them. At the request of Napoleon III. all the great works of art were spared.

Garibaldi with five thousand men escaped, as well as Mazzini. They had intended to carry on a guerilla warfare in the passes of the Apennines; but, finding himself menaced by both Austria and France, Garibaldi took leave of his men in the territory of the republic of San Marino, which had received them as refugees.

In a little street on the summit of that great rock on which the village of San Marino is situated there is a tablet of which the inhabitants are justly proud. It reads from the original Italian like this: "Soldiers, in this friendly refuge all must deport themselves in a manner which shall deserve the consideration due to the unfortunate. I now release you from the duty of accompanying me. Return to your homes; but remember that Italy must not remain in servitude and disgrace." This was written on the 30th of September, 1849. On the same wall there is another framed inscription, with the date of 1861, probably a quotation from a letter, which says: "I am proud to be a citizen of this estimable republic," and another written in 1864, "I shall always hold in memory the hospitality of San Marino in the hour of extreme danger to myself and Italy."

Three hundred of Garibaldi's followers desired to go with him to Venice to help in a struggle which was then going on with the base Haynau and his troops.

Accordingly they procured a dozen little fishing smacks and set out; but the beautiful night proved unfortunate for the wayfarers, so that the Austrian vessels which pursued them were able to capture all but five of their boats. In one of these were Garibaldi and his wife, who had heroically shared all his trials and dangers. She was ill, and he was obliged to carry her in his arms to the shore, where, having found a hiding place in a cornfield, he laid her down and sent his companions to seek shelter somewhere in the mountain passes. Much to Garibaldi's delight, an old companion-in-arms, who was recuperating amongst the heights, appeared and soon helped them to procure a refuge with his relatives. Garibaldi's wife, already dying from fatigue and exposure, expired before they could summon a doctor, her last words being loving messages to her sons. Garibaldi was obliged to leave her to be buried by the strange cottagers; and, after much suffering, he reached Genoa, whence he embarked for America. He remained here about five years.

It was not until April, 1850, that Pope Pius IX. was brought back to Rome, where, guided by the Jesuits and supported by the French garrison, he kept the people under martial law until the entry of the Italians in 1870.

The Italian insurrection was indeed crushed, and the hopes of the revolutionary party for a time vanished; but the assertion of d'Azeglio, "the House of Savoy cannot retreat," expressed the determination of the ruling classes. The greatest inspiration to all at this crisis was the thought "that the defenders of Rome and Venice had not been princes or nobles, but men of the people, artisans and tradesmen, as well as advocates and attorneys." All had now come to see

that the regeneration of Italy could not be accomplished in a moment; but that the nation must first be shaped; and all agreed that the task must be entrusted to Piedmont, since she alone was able to enlist reliable volunteers for emergencies.

Thus, even after the Peace of Novara, the moderate factions looked to Victor Emanuel II. to save Italy, and people believed that, although his father had failed, Victor Emanuel himself would triumphantly carry on their cause.

Austria, feeling that Sardinia was a protest against her tyranny, fortified her boundaries with new zeal, at the same time forbidding Sardinia to take up arms. The latter replied that she would apply to France; and Louis Napoleon, since the French felt that they must have Sardinia to depend upon in case of possible hostile European coalitions, now informed Austria that "he should not look with indifference on their invasion of Sardinia." He also said that if he entered into war it would be to restore Italy to independence. He declared that, though he should not disturb the Pope, whom he had re-established, he should maintain order on legitimate grounds; and accordingly he set two hundred thousand French troops in motion.

Piedmont under the new king had already a Constitution, and the people were not restricted in religious matters nor in their newspapers and books. Victor Emanuel II. was loyal to all parties, priding himself on the epithet of "The Honest King." With the help of his chief minister, Massimo d'Azeglio, and Camillo Benso di Cavour, his Minister of Commerce, he conscientiously carried on the reforms begun by Charles Albert. Ever after the accession of Cavour in 1852 the career of Victor Emanuel was to a great extent

what this able minister made it, since the king placed himself largely under his political guidance, as a leader every way capable of pioneering the State to a national union.

Vincenzo Gioberti, before his death, the preceding year, had written a book which pointed out Piedmont as the substantial basis for a united Italy, and emphasized the mistakes they had all made in 1848-49, in a manner which helped all Italian statesmen in the future.

The Siccardi Law was soon put in force. This set aside the ecclesiastical courts, which for a long time had stood in the way of Italian unity; and in 1854, at the instigation of Ratazzi, monastic bodies were suppressed. This movement was a great blow to two or three thousand ecclesiastics, who had still remained after the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1848.

Ratazzi, the advocate, and Cavour, the skillful debater and great statesman, at first worked apart; but finally they were attracted to each other by what is called the "affinity of contraries"; and, together with d'Azeglio, they played a most important part in shaping the constitutional government of that era. D'Azeglio, however, thought that Cavour was advancing too rapidly in reforms when he joined the democratic party in Piedmont, headed by Ratazzi; and in 1853 he resigned, the premiership being taken by Cavour. The latter forwarded all progressive movements throughout Italy, but he gave a special impulse to Piedmont, intersecting the country with railways and telegraph wires, and altogether greatly developing commerce.

In the face of great opposition Cavour favored the alliance with England and France, who were opposed

to Russia; for he considered the latter the hot-bed of despotism as well as an enemy of Italian freedom; and, besides, he knew that by this alliance European equilibrium would be better maintained. He also soon saw that otherwise, in order to secure the co-operation of Austria, these powers might connive at her encroachment in Italy. By a secret stipulation in the treaty the French and English were to cancel the obligation some time in the future in the ever impending Italian strife. Cavour also perceived that by proving herself a valuable auxiliary in the Crimean War Piedmont would acquire the respect of the powers. Accordingly, taking advantage of his alliance with England and France, on January 10, 1855, fifteen thousand troops set out for the Crimea under Alphonso la Marmora, and on August 6, "on the banks of the Tchernaya," in a measure "redeemed the glory of their flag from the shame of Novara."

It was at this time that, within the same week, the king's mother, Maria Theresa, his wife, Adelaide, and his brother, Ferdinand, Duke of Genoa, died. The nation sympathized deeply with him; but the clericals regarded it as a just visitation upon him for having so lately legislated against them.

In pouring out her best blood and treasure in the Crimea, Piedmont had not fought for conquest or glory, but for the right to be heard in behalf of Italy in the great council chambers of Europe. Consequently in 1856 she was invited to take part in the Congress of Paris. Here Cavour, by his dignified bearing, great tact and keen insight, took a distinguished place in the deliberations of this body. He insisted that Italy should be placed on the same footing as the other great powers; and, seeing that Austria

intended to persist in her course, he arraigned her at the bar of European opinion, and made a touching plea in behalf of his oppressed country. He reproached Austria with her bad faith, enumerated her usurpations, and exposed her subterfuges. He depicted the melancholy condition of Piedmont, overrun by foreign soldiery and subjected to a military despotism. He then cited the occupation of Venice in open violation of solemn treaties, charging Austria to deny his assertions.

Austria assumed a defiant attitude, although she was able to make but a lame defense. Lord Clarendon, among others, was much excited, telling Austria that if she refused to make pledges with reference to Italy the liberal element in Europe would consider it a challenge which at no distant day would be taken up.

Furthermore, Gladstone reported that the tyranny he had observed while waiting for an audience with King Ferdinand II. in Naples in 1851 had so aroused his ire that he withdrew without seeing his Majesty; and on his return to England he published a letter he had written to Lord Aberdeen, saying that the Bourbon rule in the Two Sicilies was in the present era of advancement a disgrace to humanity. The powers, however, remonstrated with Ferdinand in vain. At this Congress of Paris the Pontifical rule also was denounced as a scandal to Europe.

About this time some of Mazzini's followers tried to organize conspiracies against the King of Naples; and later Baron Francesco Bentivegna was shot for engaging in one of these. There were also many other unsuccessful plots, which proved the impossibility of putting down despotism by mobs.

On the 16th of April, 1858, Cavour in the Chamber

defined the political situation since 1849. He declared that, after Novara, Piedmont might have gone back to the position that she had held in 1848; but, while immediate prosperity would have followed from that course, she would have "sacrificed all the glorious traditions of the House of Savoy, and would have repudiated the melancholy but magnificent heritage left them by Charles Albert." Cavour told them that the only way to combat such perils as they would no doubt provoke in the jealousy of the powers by supporting these traditions, was on the field of battle with battalions and fleets. He said: "As in the days of Frederick the Great, Fortuna is not always on the side of justice; for that goddess loves to befriend the largest armies and the strongest squadrons; but, lacking these, our nation must gain the support of reliable allies."

Cavour had concluded from his travels abroad that although the English sympathized with Italy, Great Britain at present would probably only give them moral support; and accordingly they must depend upon Napoleon III. as an ally. Yet it was difficult just at that time to gain Napoleon's confidence, since an Italian, Felice Orsini, had shortly before made an attempt upon the latter's life. In 1858, however, Cavour and Napoleon formed a treaty at Plombières, the basis of their future alliance; and later, in 1859, Prince Jerome Napoleon came to Turin to arrange a marriage with Princess Clotilde, Victor Emanuel's eldest daughter, this union being an event of great political importance. In the March of 1859, in an interview with Cavour at Paris, Napoleon made the condition that he would only intervene between Austria and Piedmont in case of the latter being the in-

jured party; and, accordingly, Cavour determined to observe the same tactics with regard to Austria that Bismarck, a little later, practiced in his dealings with France, namely to drive the Austrians to an early declaration of war. Victor Emanuel, therefore, had notified the Austrian Emperor that he would make war on Austria unless a national government were granted to Lombardy and Venice. Austria immediately recalled her minister at Turin, and, commanding the King of Sardinia to disarm his forces, mobilized an army, which was sent to the various posts on the Piedmont frontier. Thereupon Cavour despatched messengers to Garibaldi and warned him to be ready.

In answer to an accusation that a bill had been brought forward for raising fifty million francs, for the purpose of involving all Europe as well as Sardinia in war, Cavour recalled the policy of Victor Emanuel since 1849, which was never to provoke revolution, but to develop the principles on which the institutions granted by Charles Albert were based—those of liberty and nationality. He then reminded them that after the Paris Congress events had warranted the opinion that the difficulties of the Italian question could never be settled “by pacific and diplomatic means,” and that later proceedings had justified this theory. The Sardinian ministry immediately decided on war.

During these perilous days the labor of Cavour was herculean. He was President of the Council, Minister of Marine and Minister of War. He even transferred his bed to the War Office, protracting his labors far into the night, hurrying from one debate to another in his dressing-gown, dictating dispatches, transmitting orders, and directing the operations in the field. He

infused a portion of his own patriotism into the hearts of the despondent, saying: "Courage, my friends, we will give to Italy the regeneration dreamed of by Gioberti."

The adroitness of Cavour was never more apparent than at this epoch. He temporized with Mazzini, if it served his purpose, and proposed terms of friendly alliance to the Bourbons. He managed his coalition with England and France with the greatest dexterity and extended a hand to any who were willing to co-operate with him. His power over Napoleon III. amounted to a fascination, compelling him to engage in a war which he neither sought nor desired.

As the republicans in Venetia had rushed to the standard of Daniele Manin, saying: "Regenerate Italy and we are with you," so the noblest of the Italian youth now flocked to the standard of Garibaldi, asking for nothing better than to die for their country. Accordingly thirty thousand volunteers awaited with swords half drawn the signal to rush upon the Austrian legions.

The formal announcement of hostilities followed, and Victor Emanuel roused his troops to enthusiasm by the following speech: "Soldiers, we are not insensible to the cry of suffering that arises from so many parts of Italy. Austria threatens to invade our country, and dares to tell us, who are armed only in our own defense, to lay down our weapons and put ourselves in her power. I am certain that you are prepared to make your nation's wrongs your own, and I, who recognized your prowess when fighting under my magnificent father, will be your leader, convinced that on the field of honor and glory you will be able to justify and augment your military renown. You

may remember with pride Pastrengo, Goito, Santa Lucia, and above all Custoza, where four brigades held out three days against five army corps. Crown with fresh laurels that standard which rallies from all quarters the flower of Italy to its three-fold colors, and points out your task—that sacred enterprise undertaken for the independence of Italy.”

CHAPTER XIV

VICTORIES OF MAGENTA AND SOLFERINO.—DISGRACEFUL TRUCE WITH AUSTRIA BY NAPOLEON.—CENTRAL ITALY CEDED TO PIEDMONT.—THE TREATY OF VILLAGRA. —NICE AND SAVOY GIVEN TO FRANCE.—GARIBALDI DELIVERS KINGDOM OF NAPLES.—THE UNIFICATION OF ITALY.—CAVOUR'S DEATH.—SEPTEMBER CONVENTION.

1859—1861 A.D.

THE Austrians now crossed the Ticino, but were defeated by the Sardinian army and General Cialdini. On the 10th of May Louis Napoleon left Paris and embarked at Marseilles, arriving at Genoa on the 12th, twelve thousand troops having preceded him; and on the 14th he found Victor Emanuel at Alessandria with sixty thousand Piedmontese soldiers. On the 20th the Austrians were defeated by the French and Piedmontese at Montebello, and on the 30th, having been put to flight at Palestro by the French and Sardinians, they were pursued as far as Magenta. Here, on the 4th of June, the whole of the Austrian army engaged the French, and this fierce battle, celebrated for instances of bravery, lasted all day. All the modern tactics of war were employed, and there were forty thousand men either killed or wounded. On the 8th of June Victor Emanuel II. and Napoleon III. entered Milan in triumph, while that same day the Austrians were beaten at Melegnano, and Garibaldi entered Bergamo. "He had been the last one to leave

Lombardy in 1848, and was now among the first to re-enter that country."

After the Battle of Magenta, Emperor Francis Joseph, who had succeeded his brother Ferdinand I. on his abdication in 1848, assumed command of the Austrian army. During the night of the 23d of June the retreating Austrians took a stand to the south of the Lake of Garda, and on the following morning they were met by the Franco-Piedmontese army, the combating force covering a line of fifteen miles. The Austrians held their position on a range of hills overlooked by Solferino and San Martino; and it was only after a terrible day's battle that the French succeeded in occupying Solferino, on the 24th of June, 1859. San Martino was taken and lost four times before the Austrian army retreated, protected by the darkness resulting from a terrific tempest. The combatants were reckoned at three hundred thousand, one hundred and sixty thousand of whom were Austrians. The total loss was twenty-five thousand.

Francis Joseph now retired into Venetia behind fortresses which Austria had been years in constructing for such an emergency; and it now seemed certain that the Austrians would be headed off and driven out of Italy. But, instead of this, the most unexpected events happened. On the 8th of July, 1859, Louis Napoleon demonstrated the inefficiency of his weak character by ratifying terms of peace with Francis Joseph at Villafranca without consulting Victor Emanuel. Austria was obliged to cede only Lombardy to the west of the Mincio to the King of Sardinia, leaving Venice out in the cold; whereas Napoleon III. had agreed to free Italy from the Alps to the Adriatic. According to the treaty, the Italian States

were to be united in a confederation, with the Pope at their head, and Austria, by keeping Venice, would have been a member of the confederation. The Grand Duke of Tuscany and the Dukes of Modena and Parma, all of whom had been obliged to flee, were to be restored. But none of these weak rulers ever returned, and the proposed confederation was never realized, since these duchies under their provincial governors, together with Romagna, begged Victor Emanuel II. to annex them to his kingdom. At the loss of Romagna and the Marches, which also rebelled, the Pope sent a Bull of Excommunication against all his enemies.

Cavour had promised Napoleon III. that he should have Savoy for his pains; and now the latter claimed it; for he thought that otherwise from a military point of view Savoy was highly dangerous to him. To refuse such a command from his only remaining ally would have been madness, and Victor Emanuel II. was obliged to consent to give up the "cradle of his monarchy," as well as Nice. Garibaldi was so grieved that he said "that man Cavour has made me a stranger in my own house." Cavour replied with deep emotion: "I know that between General Garibaldi and myself there exists an unfathomable abyss; but I was performing the most painful duty of my life when I counseled the king to cede Nice and Savoy to France. From my own grief I can realize what Garibaldi has suffered, and I can well afford to pardon him if he cannot forgive me." This startling controversy took place in the memorable session of the April of 1860.

It was a long time before the Italians forgave the great statesman for his share in Piedmont's losses, resulting from, what seemed to them, premature

promises. Outside of Italy, too, this cession of Nice and Savoy caused great discontent, since by the treaty of Vienna these provinces, if ever separated from Piedmont, were to be annexed to Switzerland.

The Peace of Villafranca was so great an affliction to Cavour that he grew careworn and aged greatly in the space of three days; and, overcome by fatigue and chagrin, he retired from the Cabinet to his villa at Leri, leaving Ratazzi to open a new ministry. He, however, saw compensation; for Villafranca had opened a new vista—the final subjection of Austria and the unity of Italy; and, accordingly, in 1860 he resumed his place in the government.

Though Louis Napoleon did all he was strong enough to accomplish, and probably what was the best in the end for Italy, it has been a great question why he did not follow up his advantage. No doubt the first and greatest reason was that, although he favored Italian freedom, he was afraid he could not control Italian politics; and accordingly he arranged a confederacy in which France was sure to have the ascendancy. Another potent explanation for his action was that he feared there would be an alliance between Austria, Prussia and Great Britain against himself and Italy, which would be too overpowering to meet; and some have thought that besides these greater influences, he dreaded the hardships and horrors of prolonged warfare.

While the late startling events had been going on, Ferdinand II. of the Two Sicilies, who had acquired the name of "Bomba," from his frequent assaults upon his people, had died on May 22, 1859, detested by everybody. Throughout his whole reign he had sought to keep down insurrections through fear, shoot-

ing revolutionists in the streets without mercy, and incarcerating thousands of patriots, besides establishing a police system under which no one was safe. It has been said that in view of the years of oppression which Naples endured under cruel rulers, it is no wonder that at the present time all the songs in southern Italy are in a minor key.

The mother of Francis II., the new King of the Two Sicilies, nicknamed "Bombino," was Maria Christina, whom the Neapolitans called the "Saint," on account of her forbearance and amiability. She had died in 1836, and Francis II. was brought up under the Jesuits by his Austrian stepmother, "to whose demoralizing training he did great credit"; for each year exiles from his tyranny spread tales of Bourbon cruelty all over Europe. A strong friendship had existed between Victor Emanuel II. and Christina, the boy's mother, and the king advised Francis II. not only to grant a constitution, but to unite with Piedmont in sending troops against Austria. Francis, however, did not heed his counsel until it was too late, and in 1860, when he might possibly have consented to reform, a revolt in Palermo had already broken out, the insurrection spreading through Messina and Catania.

Although Garibaldi feared that it might prove a reckless venture, he finally consented to lead a Sicilian expedition, already fully equipped by Augustino Bertani and Giuseppe la Farina. The Sicilian exile Crispi and Nino Bixio urged him to go on; but Cavour, who appreciated the advantage to be gained in case of the success of such an enterprise, took no active part in its execution, although he secretly encouraged it.

General Garibaldi, with twelve hundred volunteers called "The Thousand," set sail from Genoa the 5th

of May, 1860, in two Italian ships, the "Lombardo" and "Piemonte," of the Rubatino Company. Garibaldi was not disheartened at the ostensible disapproval of the government, because he knew that success would make it all right everywhere.

On the 11th of May Garibaldi stepped out upon the beach at the town of Marsala, followed by his men; and, after taking possession unopposed, he "unfurled the flag of Sicilian independence in the name of Victor Emanuel, King of Italy." Here they met with many curious experiences, one of them being at the telegraph office. "The operator was just reporting over the wires that two Sardinian vessels were disembarking troops in the harbor, when one of Garibaldi's party who was an expert in telegraphy, pushed him aside and finished the message with: 'made a mistake, only two trading vessels.' The reply to this was brief and rather profane, and then the pseudo-operator cut the wires."

At Salemi, the next halt, Garibaldi declared himself dictator in Victor Emanuel's name. The Neapolitan government, now alarmed, telegraphed to General Landi, at Palermo, to meet Garibaldi with a large force; and the struggle which took place at Calatafimi was most terrible, though Landi was finally defeated. After a week's siege Garibaldi succeeded in getting possession of Palermo by strategy, his troops entering on the 27th of May. Although they were driven away from here, they again defeated the king's troops at Milazzo on the 7th of June, where the mountaineers and peasantry rallied around Garibaldi during the engagement. The conquest of Sicily was now complete except for Messina, which continued to hold out even after being abandoned by King Francis; and in fact it never really surrendered.

The Neapolitans were paralyzed with fear and the upper classes left the city, all mercantile transactions being suspended. The terrified king promised to ameliorate the condition of his people and begged Victor Emanuel to put a stop to the movement, and the latter was finally obliged to send word to Garibaldi not to cross over to Naples. Cavour, fearing that the country and the people were unprepared for so sudden a union, would far rather have delayed the consolidation with the south for awhile; but since affairs were so well started he wrote to Garibaldi not to leave the work uncompleted, and at the same time he himself did all in his power to secretly precipitate revolt in Naples. But it was in Potenza, in the Basilicata, that this revolution finally did its effective work; for, on the 16th of August, the citizens in this town were the first to raise the flag of Italian independence.

Thus, when Garibaldi landed on the shores of Naples with his heroic followers, thousands were there ready to unite with them, and the insurgents in Umbria and the Marches were "listening for Garibaldi's bugles." On the 8th of September, 1860, Garibaldi had overcome all difficulties and entered Naples. All the populace at the windows and in the streets welcomed him with a kind of delirium, shouting, weeping and embracing each other, amidst loud cries of "Long live Italian Unity."

"Garibaldi, having inaugurated a provisional government, was as inconsistent in his procedure as the wildest of the throng. He launched one proclamation after another; first expelling the Jesuits and then confiscating the goods of the clergy, and at last abolishing lotteries and such vices. In his visionary moments he proposed, after the reduction of Capua and Gæta

to march upon Rome, liberate the Marches and Umbria, and in the name of Italian liberty advance from victory to victory until he could unfurl the tricolored flag upon the summit of St. Mark's." A republic might have been established in such a way, but more likely chaos would have followed, instead of the subsequent magnificent consolidation of the State, since there was a lack of concord, and an exhausted treasury crippled the government.

There were fifty thousand troops in Naples loyal to the Bourbon dynasty, and ready at any moment to break through Garibaldi's lines. In this case a counter revolution was sure to follow. Indeed, on the 1st of October Garibaldi was obliged to meet such an emergency.

Had it not been for Cavour's statesmanship at this time these complications might have resulted in foreign intervention; but, acting under his counsel as prime minister, Victor Emanuel II. now took a more decided stand, and sent word to the Pope, whose troops were getting troublesome, that he was about to rescue the inhabitants from the cruelties Lamoricière was then committing in Umbria and the Marches. Accordingly, on September 11, without awaiting a reply, the Italian soldiers crossed the frontier under Cialdini, and occupied Perugia. On the 18th of September the Papal army was beaten at Castelfidardo, and Lamoricière, having fallen back on Ancona, was obliged to capitulate on the 26th of September.

Piedmont wished to immediately annex the Neapolitan provinces in order to show the European nations what had really been done. Garibaldi, however, influenced by the erratic counsels of Mazzini, as well as by his own inclinations, was determined first to liberate

Rome and Venice and also to get back Nice. Cavour knew that all this could not be accomplished at once, and exclaimed: "Garibaldi wishes to prolong the revolution; while we wish to end it." So the breach between the two great men, which had arisen at the time of the cession of Nice to France, was greatly widened; and the position became uncomfortable to Garibaldi, especially as he was accustomed to adulation accorded so freely and exhibited so unreservedly by the people of the south because he had done so much for them. "The badge of the Garibaldian volunteer was to them a greater inspiration than the gray coat of the Piedmontese, the ensigns of order, for which they were not ready." It was partly to conciliate Garibaldi and keep him from moving on Rome, and at the same time to keep control of the revolution, that the king had sent troops into the Papal States.

King Francis II. of the Two Sicilies replied to all advances made by the new government: "I do not understand what you mean by the independence of Italy; I only recognize the independence of Naples." Until it was too late he refused all alliance with Cavour, and on the 6th of September fled to Gæta, which he now prepared to defend with an army of thirty thousand against a siege begun by the Sardinians in 1860.

On the 26th of October, 1860, Victor Emanuel II. met Garibaldi near Teanum in the Abruzzi, and was greeted by the "red-shirted volunteer" as King of Italy. The king and Garibaldi seated side by side made their triumphal entry into Naples. Through the influence of the provisional government Garibaldi became reconciled to the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies being united to the Sardinian kingdom; and, accord-

ingly, a bill was passed to that effect by a unanimous vote of the people. The great revolutionist now voluntarily laid aside his dictatorial dignity and retired to Caprera with a disinterestedness worthy of an old Roman; and "the sword left by the Ghibelline leader, Castruccio Castrucani, as a legacy to him who should become the liberator of his country" was given over to Victor Emanuel II. The latter was then proclaimed King of Italy by the "Grace of God" and the will of the people.

When Victor Emanuel II. made his opening speech at Turin in the February of 1861, he expressed special appreciation in the name of the Italian people for the kindly attitude which the English had exhibited toward them in their recent struggle for liberty. Up to this time Victor Emanuel had simply been recognized as King of Sardinia; but on his birthday, the 14th of March, 1861, Parliament, by acclamation, declared him King of Italy; and on the 17th of the same month the enactment was put on record as one of the statutes. Soon afterwards this title was acknowledged by England, and a little later by Switzerland and the United States.

On the 2d of November, 1860, the fortress of Capua had been taken; but Gaeta, the brave defense of whose garrison was one of the most remarkable events of the period, could not be seized on account of the protection of the French fleet. Napoleon III., however, on being reminded that he was violating his neutrality, withdrew his squadron.

It was three months after Francis II.'s succession to the throne that the last insurrection in Naples broke out; and, when in September of 1860 he fled in a Spanish ship to Gaeta, his noble wife, a sister of the

late Empress Eliza of Austria, compelled him during the long siege of five months, to take a stand. It was she who furnished "all the inspiration, brains, courage and strength of the defense" against the greatly superior force. She appeared constantly on the battlements to cheer the garrison and direct the operations; and, though the weak, cowardly king kept out of sight, she made herself everything that he ought to have been to the defenders. Europe looked on "amazed at this modern mediæval fighting queen," a bride of only two months, and hardly older than a girl in her teens. After Napoleon had withdrawn his fleet, they were finally obliged to surrender, from want of food and ammunition and men to fight; but the enemy recognized her bravery and accorded the survivors all the honors of war. She was afterwards made a member of the Russian Order of St. George, reserved for those who have displayed conspicuous bravery in battle.

Queen Maria, ex-queen of Naples, has continued one of the most romantic figures in Europe up to the present time. Soon after their defeat she and Francis II. went to Rome and held court in the Farnese Palace, and afterwards to Paris, the home of exiled sovereigns. After that time, until the death of the ex-king in 1894, they were often in great straits in order to supply the former ignoble ruler with the means for riotous living, in spite of the fact that his wife had earlier inherited a fortune from her mother. Ex-queen Maria is an expert in boating; and in 1900 received a medal for her bravery in saving the lives of three perishing sailors whom she had drawn from the surf into her own boat just as they were sinking.

Several of the States of Europe expressed their dis-

pleasure at the invasion of the Papal States and the annexation of the southern provinces, by removing their ambassadors; and many of the European powers met at Warsaw in October of 1860 to discuss what action should be taken against Piedmont. England, however, came to the rescue and took a public stand in favor of Italy, Lord Palmerston announcing that the Italian people had the sympathy and good-will of Great Britain. To further reward the French Emperor for his part in forming the Italian kingdom, Monaco was added to a French department made of Nice, and in return France acknowledged Victor Emanuel as King of Italy. Thus the first part of the great drama, in which Garibaldi had brought freedom to Naples and Sicily, closed.

When Garibaldi retired to Caprera the lower classes were not satisfied, since they had no confidence in the new government and were offended in many respects by Cavour's general policy, as well as at his late attitude against the convents.

In the Parliament of March of the same year the breach between Cavour and Garibaldi was widened when the question of the rank of the Garibaldian officers came up, and it appeared as though their services had not been appreciated. This aroused Garibaldi, and he rushed to Turin, declaring in the Chamber that he would never again shake hands with Cavour. The king, much grieved, soon brought about a reconciliation through a letter which Garibaldi at last consented to send Cavour on the 18th of May, 1861, just before Cavour's death. In the epistle Garibaldi recognized the latter's "superior capacity," and said that he should gladly await Cavour's "summons to a field of action."

Like all new governments, it was not always smooth sailing for the Italian "ship of State." The difference in the character and training of the people in the north and south showed itself in many ways and was the occasion of much discord. Victor Emanuel found it necessary to put into office those who had held positions under the Bourbons, and these were not always trustworthy; and, besides, there was a good deal of grumbling among the higher classes in Naples, because reforms did not go on so fast as the Neapolitans desired. Thus many could not see that they were benefited much by belonging to Piedmont, especially as in doing so they had sacrificed Naples as a gay capital.

Brigandage had now become very common in the Abruzzi and the Basilicata. The brigands pretended that they belonged to the army of Francis II., calling themselves generals and colonels of the king, in order that they might find an asylum in the Pope's territory. During the summer of 1861 these armed robbers became so adroit that even Naples was not considered a safe place. "They fired at railway trains, sacked villages, slaughtered cattle and attacked and slew men in their own dwellings, often carrying off wealthy prisoners in order to obtain a large ransom. The line between the soldier and the brigand and the brigand and the common laborer was very closely drawn, since the peasant as he worked in his garden had a gun in his hand and used it, as became necessary, along with his spade."

Oftentimes the real officers of the King of Naples did not hesitate to act with the brigands, and one Don Jose Borges, a Spanish adventurer, enlisted with them, expecting in truth to restore the Bourbon rule in the Two Sicilies. He soon perceived, however, that

it was only lawlessness and plunder that animated the gang; and seeing that the king's cause was not advanced he determined to leave them. But before he could accomplish this they stripped him of everything, and, while he was hastening to inform Francis II. about the character of his retainers he was shot. King Francis II., while living in Rome after his downfall, was in the habit of sending arms as well as officers and men to reinforce the most infamous malefactors, such as those just spoken of, and others like Ciprian, Lagala, etc. Many thousand brigands joined these leaders, and one band took the little village of Melfi.

These, with other difficulties, gradually disappeared before the energy and good sense of Victor Emanuel II. and his ministers, all classes having learned that they could trust the new sovereign; and the great progress socially and politically reconciled the Neapolitans to the loss of what they considered their former privileges.

Two momentous questions still demanded solution, Rome and Venice; for the unspeakable anguish which the Venetians felt in being abandoned kept them ever on the alert to take advantage of any opportunity to gain their freedom.

The activity of Count Cavour during the year 1860, after he again accepted the premiership, was simply marvelous, and the expenditure of nervous force no doubt hastened his death. His work throughout evinced the kindness of his heart and exhibited his purpose to follow right and justice. He at one time wrote to the guardian of the seal, "The statesman who is not ready to sacrifice even his good name for his country is not worthy to govern his peers." Again he writes: "My experience of thirteen years con-

vinces me that an honest, energetic ministry, which does not fear the press, or let itself be influenced by extreme parties, has much to gain from parliamentary contests and debates. I would not betray my trust or deny the principles of my life. I am the son of Liberty and owe her all that I am. If a veil is to be placed over her statue, it will not be I who do it."

No one suffered more than Cavour from unbridled license of the press; yet he persistently refused to have it muzzled. He abolished the duties according to his doctrine of free trade, while at the same time as Minister of Finance this compelled him to see the revenues decreasing. Notwithstanding his liberal tendencies, he favored a monarchy rather than a republic for Italy; yet, though noble himself, he held birth and position lightly.

The Papal government was now rapidly crumbling to pieces, and all saw that the first attack of the Italian troops would wind up the temporal power of the Pope. While the Bourbon army was still in the field, Cavour spoke in the Chamber on the necessity of Rome becoming the capital of Italy. He showed that it held within itself all the elements that the chief city of a great State needed; and in another speech made in 1861 he closed by saying that everything pointed to Rome, with its renown of twenty-five centuries, as the glorious capital. With regard to the Church, he said, that liberty, being favorable to the development of genuine religion, the Church would lose nothing by the amalgamation of Rome and Italy, and that the Holy Father would sacrifice nothing by giving up his temporal power; on the other hand he would gain greater liberty than that which he had sought from the Catholic powers and had never been able to gain from

"concordats." He also said that all enlightened Catholics must see that His Holiness would be able to exercise the duties of his office more freely and independently, supported by the affection of millions of the Italian people than by twenty-five thousand bayonets. Near the close of his speech, the last he ever made in the Chamber, he said: "All the world knows how to govern by martial law; I would rule by means of liberty"; and then he gave utterance to the same words which a short time after were on his lips in death: "*Libera Chiesa in libero Stato*" (A free Church in a free State).

Cavour's strength had gradually failed under the long strain incident to the changes in the government of Italy. On the eve of the 2d of June, the day appointed and still kept by the government as a national holiday in commemoration of the accomplishment of Italian unity, Cavour returned home tired and worn, and was soon after taken dangerously ill. The courtyard of his palace was continually thronged with a sympathizing crowd until the small hours of the night, while the telegraph was kept busy sending medical bulletins all over Europe.

In his delirium Cavour often called for his private secretary, saying to his physician: "Cure me at once; my time is precious; for I have all Italy on my shoulders." He was very anxious about the southern States, which then presented the same vexing questions as at the present time. He said to the king, who was almost constantly with him in his last sickness: "The north is complete, there are no longer Lombards, Piedmontese or Tuscans, we are all Italians; but alas, there are still Neapolitans. Many of them are very corrupt, poor fellows, but it is not their fault; they

must be purged again and again." This was very significant and intelligible to those who, since 1861, have witnessed the patience required to bring order out of chaos in this section. Cavour then said: "In twenty years the Kingdom of Naples will contain the richest provinces in Italy." In delirium he went on: "Garibaldi is a gentleman. I wish him well. He rushed to the aid of Rome and Venice; but that donkey of a Ferdinando, [meaning Francis II.], his is such a corrupt government that Providence cannot permit it to be restored. Moral influence must be introduced and the youth educated. They covet badges of honor. If they are patriotic and honest, I will buy their badges for them and forward their promotion," etc.

Cavour died in June, 1861, and Victor Emanuel desired that he should be buried in the cemetery of the Royal House of Savoy in the Superga, but the great statesman, in accordance with his own request, was interred in his family tomb at Santena in the village of Chieri.

In personal appearance Cavour was of medium stature and rather stout. He had a broad forehead and wore glasses. He was quick and energetic in his movements, and, although sometimes his smile was ironical, his countenance as a whole was expressive of benignity. Simple in his manners, but dignified in his bearing, he would have been recognized anywhere as a country gentleman familiar with court usage. He believed in his mission to save Italy; and even though he often changed his tactics, he never for a moment lost sight of the objective point. He was clear in his statements, but wholly lacked the ideality and sentiment of such enthusiasts as Mazzini.

There had been differences of opinion between the

two great men who worked together, but such were soon settled, Cavour acknowledging that Victor Emanuel alone could unite Italy; while the king declared that the settlement of political differences in Piedmont was due to the great statesman. Indeed, one of Victor Emanuel's important services to Italy was his recognition of Cavour's wonderful genius, shown in giving him absolute freedom of action without reference to personal preferences.

Time has proved how high Cavour ranks in the rôle of Europe's statesmen; and the development of Italian history since 1860 corroborates the common verdict that "no statesman ever so wisely directed the destinies of any nation on the road to constitutional liberty." Cavour was hardly second in diplomacy to Bismarck, whom he greatly resembled; and in strength and straightforwardness he had no equal. Many contemporaries wrote eulogistic notices of his character after his death, all agreeing that he would receive eternal honors from posterity, and that his name would live as long as the deeds of heroes are recorded in history; and it is since apparent to all that his memory is every year becoming more and more imperishable.

CHAPTER XV

THE UNITED KINGDOM OF ITALY.—CAPITAL REMOVED FROM TURIN TO FLORENCE.—ALLIANCE WITH PRUSSIA.—PRUSSIAN ARMY VICTORIOUS AT KONIGGRATZ.—AUSTRIA GIVES UP VENICE.—ITALIAN ARMY DEFEATED AT CUSTOZA, ETC.—END OF SEPTEMBER CONVENTION.—POPE YIELDS TO SUPERIOR FORCE AND GIVES UP TEMPORAL POWER.—THE PAPAL STATES AMALGAMATED.

1861—1870 A.D.

AT the death of Cavour the consolidation of Italy had in reality been accomplished. Such able statesmen as Ricasoli, Minghetti, Ratazzi, Farini, La Marmora, Lanza and Crispi, and others who succeeded him, tried to carry out his policy, but none of them approached him in coolness of judgment and thoroughness of execution.

The last struggle for Italian liberty took place in Rome, where the early history of Italy began. Ricasoli formed a conservative government, and Ratazzi led the opposition, while Garibaldi swore never to rest until Rome and Venice were free; and, together with Mazzini, he was ready for any act which would bring about the desired results the most speedily. These two men both wanted to take from the Pope his spiritual as well as his temporal power, and to confiscate all the property of the Church. It was even suspected that they were opposed to a constitutional monarchy, and would have been glad to dethrone Victor Emanuel and

establish a radical democracy. Although Ratazzi, the former minister of Charles Albert, did not wholly agree with Garibaldi, his party at times allied themselves with the Garibaldians, thinking that the State would grant a subsidy for a speedy expedition to gain Venetia. When, however, Ratazzi succeeded Ricasoli as minister, he changed his policy, in the hope that, by taking a more conservative course like Cavour, he would run no risk in the event of failure and receive the benefits of success in case of a prosperous issue. But he was not so tactful as Cavour had been in his dealings with Napoleon.

In 1862 Garibaldi raised a volunteer army of twenty-five hundred men. Napoleon, regarding this as a menace, ordered Ratazzi to stop him; and the latter, in order to conciliate Napoleon, sent out against Garibaldi government troops under Cialdini, who was defeated by the volunteers at Reggio on the 28th of September, 1862; but the next day Garibaldi in turn was beaten at Aspromonte by General Pallavicini. Although there were only a few shots fired, Garibaldi was wounded and carried to Spezia as a prisoner. Ratazzi was blamed for his cowardice in allowing Garibaldi to be sacrificed, and also in permitting the French garrison to still be kept in Rome. The whole disturbance unearthed so many skeletons that Ratazzi was obliged to retire from office in 1863, and Garibaldi was allowed to go back to Caprera.

The next year Garibaldi went to London for the purpose of raising money to carry on the war against Austria. Although England refrained from giving him any material support, she and all Europe were aroused in favor of Italian unity. Thus, though this expedition had seemingly ended in failure, like all of

Garibaldi's insurrections it had spurred on the people to more earnest effort to bring Rome and Venice into the Italian kingdom; and the ministers of Victor Emanuel, seeing that the foreign powers were in sympathy with them, felt encouraged to press on to the completion of the union and freedom of Italy.

The Italian people were indignant on account of the continuance of French troops in Rome, and accordingly Napoleon and Victor Emanuel in 1864 agreed to what was called the "September Convention." By its terms, the French garrison was gradually to be removed so that the Pope might have a chance to surround himself with a defensive force before the end of two years, when the French were to withdraw from Rome altogether. In exchange for these concessions, Victor Emanuel promised to make no attack on the Pope's territory, and the people were to give up the idea of Rome for a capital.

It was now generally understood that the whole Italian peninsula, including the majority of the inhabitants of the Papal States, desired that all Italy should be united with Rome for its capital. Yet it was thought to be good policy to make it appear that this project was abandoned; and accordingly the seat of government was removed from Turin to Florence in 1865, at the time of the celebration attending the sixth centennial anniversary of Dante's birth. The people of Turin had been quite reconciled to the idea of giving up their prestige to Rome; but now, when they saw that the capital was taken away from them, to be given to Florence, riots broke out.

It was Cavour who in 1861 had first seriously considered an alliance with Prussia. La Marmora was at that time sent to pay his respects to King William I.

on his ascension to the throne in the January of that year, and in the interview he referred to the similarity of the early history of Piedmont and Prussia, mentioning that the Italians regarded His Majesty as their friend and benefactor. Afterwards when the early bitterness between Prussia and Austria began to be apparent, Prince Bismarck broached the subject of an alliance to La Marmora, who was prime minister; and thus on the 8th of April, 1866, a compact was made between Italy and Prussia, pledging mutual support in case of war against Austria. The latter, when she found herself so embroiled, offered through France to give Venetia back to Italy, if Victor Emanuel would annul his contract with Prussia. Having pledged himself, however, the latter refused to be disloyal, and the King of Prussia in turn agreed not to yield in case of war, until Austria should give up to the Italians all that part of Venetia which did not include the city of Venice and the quadrilateral formed of the fortresses of Verona, Vincenza, Peschiera and Mantua.

On the 20th of June, 1866, war having been declared against Austria, La Marmora took command of the army and Garibaldi came over from Caprera to lead twenty battalions of volunteers. At first it was thought that Garibaldi might be employed successfully to stir up the populace of Dalmatia, and then to force an encounter with the Austrian troops in the direction of Vienna; but, fearing Garibaldi's natural impetuosity the king only dared to send this erratic revolutionist into the Tyrol, while General Cialdini drew up his large force on the lower Po. The Austrians, although far outnumbered, were strongly fortified in the quadrilateral, under Archduke Albert. On the 24th the Italians and Austrians met on the heights

of Custoza, that battle-ground formerly so fatal to Charles Albert.

Although La Marmora showed great courage, he did not possess the happiest qualities of a commander-in-chief. There were many personal deeds of valor during the battle, but no unanimity of purpose was shown; and no doubt the moral effect of the former disastrous defeat at Custoza in 1848 was depressing to the soldiers. In any case, the disappointment to the Italians, when their army was obliged to retreat instead of achieving the glorious victory expected, was most overwhelming. Meanwhile Garibaldi, in the Tyrol, was struggling against fearful odds and finally was beaten and wounded at Monte Suello.

In Germany, however, the Austrians had been defeated by the Prussians at Sadowa; and on the 3d of July they again made the offer to Victor Emanuel to give up Venetia. The king refused to agree to such dishonorable terms, and the Italians still determined to keep on fighting. Garibaldi, in view of this, penetrated without difficulty as far as Trent, while Cialdini continued on his way to Venetia. Here, after the decisive battle of the 22d of July, 1866, at Königgratz, an armistice was concluded between Prussia and Austria without waiting to confer with Italy.

In the meantime the Italian fleet had been defeated on the 20th by the Austrians at Lissa, an island on the Adriatic coast. Their admiral, Persano, was removed on account of inefficiency, since Italy, being proud of her navy, had expected a great and victorious sea-fight.

At the Peace of Prague, on August 23, 1866, Austria was obliged to give up Venetia to Napoleon III., who yielded it practically entire, including Venice and

the fortresses on the frontier, to Victor Emanuel, after the people had ratified it by a vote. The Iron Crown of Lombardy, also, which had been taken in 1859 and carried to Vienna, now had to be given up. Austria kept for herself Istria and Aquileia and other primitive cities of Venetia on the Dalmatian coast. Although the Italians had gained little personal glory, their long-wished-for purpose was attained; and, on the 7th of November when Victor Emanuel entered Venice, the populace raised a jubilant shout at being at last free from foreign servitude, and cried simultaneously: "Long live the King! Long live the King!"

After seventeen years of French rule, in accordance with the September Convention, the French troops were withdrawn from Rome at the end of 1866, and the Pope was left to his own resources. The republicans under Mazzini wished to attack the city, while Ratazzi followed the same prudent course as in 1862. Notwithstanding the king had announced that he would try to bring the two parties to an agreement, Garibaldi as usual made an effort to rouse the citizens in several districts; and everything was ready for an uprising. But on the 3d of September the Italian government was obliged, on account of complications with Napoleon, still a defender of the Pope, to put Garibaldi under guard in Caprera. This arrest was only a farce, however, for in spite of it the revolutionists went right ahead and penetrated into the Papal States.

Louis Napoleon now considered that the September Convention had been violated, and on the 16th of October, 1867, sent a fleet from Toulon to rescue the Pope. This was just after the time that Garibaldi had escaped from Caprera in a little fishing-boat and had

succeeded in reaching Tuscany without being waylaid. He gained a victory at Monte Rotundo on the 26th of October, and the king was obliged again to promise that he would stop the advance of the volunteers. But there were still further attempts on the part of Garibaldi, which became abortive, and he was sent back to Caprera. During this time Ratazzi, finding that affairs were getting too complicated, again resigned.

Even though the expedition of 1867 had failed, Garibaldi had as usual accomplished his purpose in further arousing the people and stimulating the sympathies of the Liberal party in Europe, especially in England. Notwithstanding the French government said that Italy could never have possession of Rome, Giovanni Lanza, speaker of the Italian Chamber, declared in December, 1867, that Rome "through the very nature of things" must finally be made the capital of Italy. Accordingly, when Napoleon III. sought Italy's alliance in 1869 against Prussia, the government was ready to agree to it on condition that Rome should be at once evacuated; but the Church party influenced Napoleon not to listen to the terms and it had to be given up.

After the first defeat in 1870 Napoleon again asked help from Victor Emanuel; but there was a general outcry in Italy against the French; and, making the alliance of 1866 with Prussia an excuse, Italy took a neutral stand.

On the 8th of August, the French army being needed to help carry on the war at home, it left Rome and sailed from Civita Vecchia. Still Pope Pius IX. would not go, and the government under Victor Emanuel was much alarmed lest the republicans, who

were becoming more violent every day, should molest His Holiness, especially since Mazzini was urging them to more strenuous effort. It now looked as if, unless the king moved at once, the revolutionists would rise en masse and engulf the whole Italian government; and if Rome were taken without the authority of the king, it would be the capital of the republic of Italy, and unity as a nation would without doubt be lost. Besides, the king still felt himself bound by the September Convention; and accordingly he had Mazzini seized and confined at Gaeta; not because his untiring efforts were unappreciated, but because his violent methods would have overturned the monarchy.

On the 24th of August, 1870, Prince Jerome Bonaparte, the king's son-in-law, arrived in Florence to push matters, agreeing to let the Roman question alone. It was too late, however, for any alliance, since it was an established fact that Louis Napoleon had no further power to prevent them from absorbing the Papal States.

After the victory of Sedan a republic was proclaimed in France on the 4th of September, 1870; and the foreign minister of the new French republic declared the September Convention, which had lasted six years, at an end. The agitation in Italy was now at a white heat, and the newspapers were full of vehement articles entitled "To Rome," which declared that the Pope must now yield his temporal power. Meetings followed in all the principal cities of Italy demanding Rome as the capital of Italy, and the seizure of the Papal States. The excitement was so great that no ministry, and not even the monarchy itself, could resist the will of the people.

Victor Emanuel, who saw that immediate action must be taken, wrote a letter to Pius IX., begging him at last to give up the temporal power. The Pontiff replied to this that he would do so only under compulsion. The court at Florence also sent a respectful letter to the Holy Father, saying that the Italian government "regarded his spiritual office with the profoundest reverence; but that the exigencies of the times demanded the downfall of his temporal power, and that it was hoped he would yield amicably."

The Pope flatly refused in a concise letter read before a formal audience given his ambassador in Florence on the 10th of September, 1870, and the next day, Sunday, September 11, the troops of Victor Emanuel entered the States of the Church at three different points. General Cadona, setting out from Turin for Rome soon after stationed his forces at Porta Pia on the 19th. A second division proceeded from Orvieto to Civita Vecchia under General Bixio, while a third under General Angioletti invaded the Papal States by the way of Frosinone and Anagni. The Pope commanded, that since any resistance would be useless, there should be only a sufficient exhibition of force to prove to the world that his realms were taken away from him by military violence.

At half-past eight on the 20th of September, 1870, a breach was made in the Porta Pia, at half-past nine it was leveled to the ground, and at ten o'clock a part of General Cadona's army entered Rome and took possession. The temporal power of the Pope had lasted eleven centuries, ever since Pepin the Short ceded the territory to Pope Stephen in return for the coronation of himself and his sons.

Although Pius IX. had long seen that his temporal

power hung by a thread, he was obliged, in order to retain his prestige with the Catholic Church, to seem to yield only under the greatest pressure, and to appear in the rôle of a martyr shut up as a prisoner in his own domain. The Popes have done this ever since, but there never has been the slightest effort on the part of their people to change the environment or separate them from the dignified and luxurious life they have there enjoyed without intermission.

The Palace of the Cæsars, the Forum, and the most of the ruined monuments of Ancient Rome, besides the business and residence portions, are on the left bank of the Tiber; while on the right is the "Leonine City," consisting of the Vatican and St. Peter's and "nearly all the artistic wealth which the Catholic Church has accumulated during a period of a thousand years," and especially during the reign of Pope Leo X., the illustrious pontiff from whom the Leonine City is named.

In order that these environs of the Pope might not be disturbed, a regiment of Italian troops were stationed in the gardens of the Vatican to protect His Holiness. On the 2d of October, 1870, by a unanimous vote, the people of Rome cast off all temporal allegiance to the Pope, and became the subjects of the King of united Italy. The clerical party would not vote, declaring that "they were overawed by sixty thousand bayonets and that any appeal to the ballot-box was a farce."

In the September previous to this the Italian government issued a manifesto declaring that, although the political authority of the Pope had been superseded, the pontiff should still be free to exercise his ecclesiastical functions. It was also agreed that besides supporting

the Pope, Italy would assume the debts hitherto contracted by the Papal States.

Later, in 1871, by the "Bill of Papal Guarantees," enacted at Florence, the person of the Pope was declared sacred and inviolable, any offense against him being punishable in the same way as though perpetrated against the king. He was allowed as many guards as he thought necessary to protect his palace and person, his annual allowance being fixed at three million two hundred and twenty-five thousand liras, free from all taxation. But it is said that his annual stipend has never, in all the years since, been touched by the Papal government. The Pope was to remain in possession of the Vatican with its libraries and art galleries, the Lateran, the Villa of Castel Gondolfo, and the Church of San Maria Maggiore. His Holiness was left free to correspond with the bishops and the whole Catholic world without interference on the part of the Italian Kingdom. Postal and telegraph service was attached to each of his palaces for the private use of his government, and all Papal schools, universities, and colleges in Rome and the suburban dioceses were entirely under his control; and no official or other government agent was to be allowed to enter any of the Pope's dominions without His Holiness' permission. Thus the government exhibited all the magnanimity that a self-reliant State, sure of its position, could show to a great but subjected power.

One faction, the party of the Left, were opposed to every concession; but, notwithstanding this, the privilege of nominating and appointing officers in the Church was given to His Holiness on condition that Italian subjects should be chosen; and bishops were exempted from taking the oath of allegiance to the

king. Bills were passed concerning Church property, religious corporations, convents, monasteries and their superiors, so as to avoid interference with the Pope's peculiar position. The heads of these institutions were given an annuity from the State, and while the incumbents lived, apartments were left them in the houses where they had so long resided.

The new parliament in Florence opened on the 5th of December, 1870. In his speech at this time Victor Emanuel said: "When Rome is finally made the capital of Italy I shall have fulfilled my promise to my people and shall have finished the enterprise which was begun by my sainted and heroic father twenty-three years ago. My heart thrills both as a monarch and a son as I salute all the representatives of our united country for the first time and say: 'Italy is free and united; it only remains for us to make her great, happy and prosperous.'"

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CHAPTER XVI

VICTOR EMANUEL ENTERS ROME AS KING OF UNITED ITALY.—HE ADMINISTERS AFFAIRS OF THE GOVERNMENT FAITHFULLY.—DEATH OF MANY OF ITALY'S EMINENT MEN.—VICTOR EMANUEL DIES.—DEATH OF POPE PIUS.—POPE LEO XIII.—REIGN OF KING HUMBERT.—DEATH OF GARIBALDI.—SUCCEEDING EVENTS AND CHANGES.

1870—1899 A.D.

VICTOR EMANUEL showed great emotion when the envoys came to Florence in the December of 1870 to announce to him officially, that by a unanimous vote of the people, Rome had been made the capital of united Italy. The king responded in a speech, saying that at last the great work of reconstructing the State had been achieved, and that "the name of Rome, the grandest ever uttered by man, was joined to that of Italy, the name dearest to his heart." In proclaiming the unity of Italy from the Adriatic to the Apennines and from the north to the extreme south, he said that he should remain true to the liberty guaranteed to the Church and the legitimate independence of the Pope.

The people, rejoicing from one end of Italy to the other, felt that the ashes of Cavour in Santena must have stirred in the tomb, as the deputation from Rome crowned his monument with an imperishable memorial, in recognition of the nation's gratitude for a life spent in the nation's service, culminating in the regeneration of the State.

After Victor Emanuel II. took up his residence in the Quirinal Palace, desirous of making any sacrifice consistent with the welfare of united Italy, he sent a message to Pope Pius IX., in which he expressed his personal devotion to the Church and congratulated His Holiness on having held his sacred office more than twenty-five years, a longer space of time than legendary history assigns to St. Peter. It was a great disappointment that Pius IX. denied an audience to the ambassador and disdained other similar attentions from the Quirinal.

From the 2d of July, 1871, the time when the king established his court at Rome, the Chamber of Deputies occupied the Monte Citorio Palace, while the Senate took possession of the Madama Palace.

From that era there has been no considerable interruption in the public peace; but although the relation of Italy with foreign affairs involves many problems which require great tact, it has been in the control of domestic concerns that the most numerous difficulties have been found. The lack of previous training in carrying on a constitutional government, the apathy and ignorance of the people, so long held down by tyranny, and the subtle influence of the Papal party over the people, has made the business of governing united Italy very perplexing.

Victor Emanuel continued to carry on the affairs of State with great fairness to the end. He adopted whatever measures his ministers, selected by a vote of Parliament, approved; and his great success was due to his wisdom and firmness in adhering to constitutional forms. In opening the first Parliament he said: "The work to which we have consecrated our lives is completed. Italy is restored after long and self-sacri-

ficing effort. Everything speaks to us, not only of past greatness, but of future duties, and in the joy of the occasion we must not forget our responsibilities. Regenerated by liberty, may we seek in freedom and order the secret of strength, and endeavor to reconcile Church and State."

The government now took up the management of public instruction, and, though they confined themselves to teaching ethics in the elementary schools, in 1874 there was unrestricted religious freedom given to those private and ecclesiastical schools and to the monastic institutions which until recently had been the only source of learning open to the Italian youth. Yet the Church was not satisfied with the provision.

In order to show their gratitude, affection and appreciation, the people celebrated on March 23, 1874, the twenty-fifth anniversary of Victor Emanuel's accession to the throne, his sovereignty at that time having extended over little more than Sardinia and Piedmont.

The next year Garibaldi's wise and patriotic course in Parliament surprised all who had feared that there would be some disturbance; and the government was more firmly established by his attitude.

The attention of the State was drawn more and more to the destitution in Sicily and the south, where the industries had been neglected and the people were indifferent to progress. The railroad system throughout Italy was but poorly sustained, Piedmont, Liguria, Lombard and Tuscany, all together in 1859 supporting not much more than a thousand miles of railroad. In the Neapolitan provinces, with an area equal to the combined territory just mentioned, there were only one hundred and fourteen miles; while in Sicily,

which is as large as Piedmont, no railway existed at all, and the ordinary roads and postal and telegraphic service were correspondingly inferior.

But as early as the end of 1871 there had been nearly six thousand additional miles of railway laid, of the most difficult construction. That year the Mont Cenis tunnel between France and Italy was completed; and after that the two largest tunnels in Europe were built, the Arlberg, in the Austrian Tyrol, and the St. Gotthard, the latter having been the principal route from Switzerland to Italy.

Meanwhile the great men whose wisdom had accomplished the consolidation of Italy had passed away one after the other. Mazzini had lingered at death's door for a long time in exile at Lugano in Switzerland, but at last he was permitted to die in Pisa, his native city, in the midst of loving companionship. He was followed to the grave by a vast throng, who felt that he had ennobled their patriotism. His remains were placed in the Campo Santo in Genoa. The *London Times* had warned the Emperor of France, at the time of the siege of Rome, that he had to contend not with a broken-hearted exile, but, "with the Mazzini in every Italian breast." The truth of this admonition now became apparent; for, although "he had been hunted like a felon while living," the Italian Assembly and officers of rank, and the whole European press, now delighted to crown his grave with laurel. The fact that Mazzini preferred cross roads to beaten tracks in reaching the goal was soon forgotten by posterity in their gratitude for the part he took in bringing about the liberation of Italy.

Mazzini had among his friends the great and learned; but during the many years of his exile, spent

mainly in London, he cultivated, for the most part, men and women devoted to liberty. The great patriot while living in London did much to ameliorate the condition of his countrymen by starting free and benevolent schools for the Italian youth and children, besides performing many other charitable deeds.

At the age of sixteen, while walking in the streets of Genoa with his mother, Mazzini beheld some bruised and wounded Piedmontese, revolvers from Austrian oppression; and in an instant he became a full-fledged patriot. Soon after this he was confined in prison for writing patriotic articles for the "*Antologia of Florence*." The governor of Genoa, when questioned by his father as to the reason of his imprisonment, replied: "Your son is a young man of talent, given to solitary walks, and silent as to the subject of his meditations; and the government is not fond of such young men, the theme of whose musings is unknown to us." This was the Italy to which Mazzini was born—a country which threw its young thinkers into dungeons.

Urbano Ratazzi was among the statesmen who died during the early years of the new régime. After Cavour's death the Conservatives, or party of the Right, as they were called, held the power in the government; but when this party became unpopular on account of many mistakes and its unwise fiscal policy, the opposition was in the majority, and according to custom it remained with Depretis, the leader of the Left, to form a new ministry. Their policy proved so popular, and in the next election the Left had so overpowering a majority, that compromises had to be made in order to avoid an outbreak.

On the 5th of January, 1878, General Alphonso la

Marmora breathed his last at Florence, the city of his adoption; and on the 9th Victor Emanuel also passed away. The king was a loyal Catholic still, and when he saw his end approaching he desired to receive the Holy Communion; but his private chaplain did not dare to administer the sacrament to an excommunicated person until he had permission from the Pope. His Holiness, notwithstanding that he had so frequently stigmatized Victor Emanuel as a "sacrilegious usurper," sent a message, regretting that his own feeble condition did not permit him to leave the Vatican to solemnize in person the "last communion" at the Quirinal.

During his reign of eight years Victor Emanuel II. had preserved, amidst the splendor of his fashionable court, the simple tastes of his early life. His were the ways of the people, and nothing gave him such genuine pleasure as associating with them on equal terms. It was no uncommon experience for him to sit down to the villagers' humble table and eat bread and cheese at their family board.

A story is told of a countryman who, when unsuccessfully trying to lift his wagon out of the mire, saw a strong, burly stranger passing and said: "I should think you might lend a hand in lifting this wagon." "Certainly," the stranger replied, as he put his shoulder to the wheel, and lifted the vehicle onto level ground. At this moment a traveler coming along made a humble obeisance, and the rustic, greatly humiliated, discovered that his friend in need had been the King of Italy.

Victor Emanuel first won the confidence of the Italian nation when, soon after Charles Albert's abdication, he induced Radetsky to allow the Sardinian

Constitution to stand, at a time when every other vestige of representative government in Italy was swept away.

The king's death excited the most profound demonstrations of respect and sorrow throughout the country. We read to-day over his tomb in the Pantheon, where he was then buried, the familiar words: "To the Father of His Country."

Every year up to the time of King Humbert's death, at a very late hour on the 9th of January, a somber mourning cortège passed through the streets of Rome from the Quirinal to the Pantheon, where the retinue remained for several hours in private devotion before Victor Emanuel's tomb, the whole day being given up to general memorial services. During the entire week thousands of the populace and many strangers visited this renowned structure, which was shrouded in gloom. The large opening in the dome was enveloped in mourning draperies and the black hangings about the tomb of him who devoted his life to the interests of Italy were decked with stars of pearl; while on the other hand Raphael's tomb and the monuments of other famous Italians were concealed.

The death of the king was followed a few weeks later, on the 7th of February, 1878, by that of Pope Pius IX. The latter had also done much for the consolidation of Italy at the dawn of Italian independence, by supporting the national movement in the beginning of his reign; while his subsequent withdrawal made the accomplishment of the task easier; since otherwise hampering concessions with reference to his temporal sovereignty, as well as with respect to the rights of the Church, would have been obligatory.

Pope Pius IX.'s body lay in state three days in the

Church of St. Peter's, on a rich cover of crimson, surrounded by twelve golden candlesticks. It was so placed that all the faithful could gather around and kiss his feet.

In the conclave which was held immediately after, sixty-one cardinals were present; and after a session of thirty-six hours inside closed doors, Cardinal Gioacchino Pecchi, then sixty-eight years of age, was chosen. He took the title of Leo XIII., the coronation ceremonies taking place on March 3, 1878.

Leo XIII. for a time followed closely in the footsteps of Pius IX., though he showed himself a much broader ecclesiastic. For many years he supported the illusion that temporal power would be restored, since he held that otherwise spiritual authority could not be freely maintained. At the same time he kept before the Catholic world the idea that the Pope was being kept a prisoner in the Vatican. Notwithstanding this, the Pope's subjects in Italy from the first appeared satisfied with the new régime.

The Prince of Piedmont, the eldest son of Victor Emanuel, succeeded to the throne as Humbert I. In the course of his memorable speech on the occasion of his taking the oath, he said: "The only solace left to us is to prove worthy of the departed, I, by following in his footsteps and you by imitating his civic virtues; and I shall not forget the précepts my father was always anxious to impress upon me, that a religious observance of Italy's liberal institutions is the surest safeguard against all peril. That has been the strength of my House; that shall be my strength also."

With Victor Emanuel the violent period of the rapid unification of Italy closed, that era of "tragic conspiracies, bold diplomacy, and bloody battles"; with



POPE LEO XIII.

Humbert there opened an epoch of pacific labor which was to make the Italian union more rich, prosperous and compact; and the people more capable of understanding their country's needs.

King Humbert was born the 14th of March, 1834, his mother being Mary Adelaide of Ranieri. His various prænomena were sufficient to stifle the growth of any small boy, though they seem not to have affected him physically or morally. They were Humbert Ranieri Charles Emanuel John Maria Ferdinand Eugene. He remained under the care of his mother until she died, when he was ten years old, and then he was put under Giuseppe Rossi for military training. As is usual in the case of royalty, he held a military rank from childhood, but it was only after rigorous training that he gained his officer's epaulets. At fourteen, in March, 1848, he became captain of the 3d Regiment of Infantry. In 1859 he was with his father at the Battle of Magenta, where he was received with such enthusiasm that he gained the name of the "gal-lant Humbert"; and the splendid "Galleria Umberto" in Milan was constructed as a memorial of his bravery. Humbert and Amadeus both took part in the Austrian struggle of 1866 at Custoza, the former receiving a medal for valor.

Humbert was at first engaged to an Austrian duchess, and bridal presents had been exchanged, when the charming young lady was burned to death by her silken scarf igniting from a lighted cigarette. Soon after this he was affianced, by his father, to his cousin, Margherita, daughter of the Duke of Genoa. She is said to have been the most beautiful woman in Italy and was afterwards called the "Pearl of Savoy." The wedding festivities were celebrated at Turin on

the 22d of April, 1868, and were very brilliant. Victor Emanuel, Prince of Naples, now king, was born the next year.

Victor Emanuel II. had been careless in his expenses, and at the time of his death the leader of the Left proposed that his debts should be canceled by the nation; but Humbert replied resolutely: "I must pay all my father's obligations." He was able to accomplish this only through great economy in his royal household.

The exhibition of feeling throughout the peninsula at the time of King Humbert's accession to the throne proved that, though slowly, the critical point had been reached and safely passed, and that the enduring strength of the government was cemented by the affection of the people.

At first the Italian government simply sought to keep up friendly relations with all nations; but at the Berlin Congress in 1878 it became apparent that it was for Italy's interest to no longer abstain from formal alliances with other powers. France had never forgiven Italy for what she considered the latter's ingratitude in refusing support in the war against Germany; and the breach widened when France took possession of Tunis, a country Italy wished to appropriate. Out of this Mediterranean question other jealousies between the two nations arose, and Italy made advances to Germany, who drew Austria into the League; and thus in 1882 the Triple Alliance was formed, which was renewed in 1887, and again in 1891 and 1896, and still exists.

On June 2, 1882, the great Italian patriot and hero, Giuseppe Garibaldi, died at the age of seventy-six, in his island home of Caprera. He is remembered by

the Italians with greater enthusiasm perhaps than any other patriot, while the garb he wore is still affected by his followers all over the world. His love of liberty and his devotion to the cause of his country is more and more appreciated by all who comprehend the far-reaching benefits of Italian unity; and his name is sure to be perpetuated through all time as one of the greatest in Italian history. The Italian, Giosue Carducci, in a speech made at Bologna, gave utterance, among other impassioned sentiments, to the following: "The glorious figure before the vision of our childhood and our ideal of later life has disappeared. The eyes which sighted Palermo are closed forever. The heart of him who made Italy one, and which so nobly beat and never despaired, has yielded to the fate which, soon or late, overtakes all."

Gradually religious changes were introduced among the people of Italy, and missionary efforts were attempted in some of the principal cities. Hospital work was begun and schools established, among them an institution for girls, while colporteurs and Bible readers were kept busy, all of which met with considerable opposition. Several Protestant sects are working all the time in the heart of Rome and Naples, there being many English churches and several of the American denominations in Italy, so that strangers from our own land, when settling down in the large Italian cities, feel that they have a religious home. Rome, however, is still the great Catholic center of the world, as is seen in the Christmas and Easter festivities, when the whole populace is entirely given up to Church observances; and to the dispassionate looker-on Rome would hardly seem like the Eternal City if these forms and ceremonies were abolished.

Pope Leo XIII., although a shrewd diplomat, was a devout Christian, the interests of the Church throughout the world having been his most absorbing care. His greatest desire was to take part in the memorable ceremonies of the Jubilee Year of 1900; and in spite of his advanced age he officiated at the opening of the Holy Door in St. Peter's. This so fulfilled all the hopes he had entertained of seeing the end of the nineteenth century that it was feared he would not long survive the beginning of the twentieth. He showed great fortitude, however, throughout that year, continuing to appear occasionally in the great Basilica and to give private audiences. He took part in the ceremonies connected with the shutting of the great Jubilee Door in St. Peter's on the 24th of December, 1900, there being above the lintel a tablet stating this fact. Near it another records that Leo XII. opened and shut the Jubilee Door of 1825; while a third tablet chronicles the fact that Pius VI. officiated at a similar service in 1775.

In the presence of a large audience Leo XIII. blessed all the material to be used in the closing of the door, and then threw upon the threshold three tiny golden shovelfuls of mortar. Bricks, engraved with the Pontifical coat-of-arms and other inscriptions, were placed over a diminutive urn filled with commemorative medals of gold, bronze and silver; and the mechanical labor followed.

The years of Pope Leo's life were much prolonged by the watchfulness of his attendants and physicians, who were ever at hand on important occasions. During the summer months he spent his days among the walks and drives of the Vatican gardens, which are a world in themselves, breakfasting and dining under

the trees, where he received visits from his cardinals and ministers.

On March 3, 1903, the twenty-fifth anniversary of Pope Leo's coronation was celebrated with elaborate display. The illuminations which the Pope observed from his study windows embraced the Trastivere and the Leonine City, and, beyond, the view extended a distance of seven miles. As the Pope withdrew from gazing on the scene he remarked: "This will indeed be a pleasant thing to dream of."

Although the Pope endured the fatigue and excitement of the day remarkably well, and notwithstanding it was almost five months before the end came, from this time his strength declined perceptibly. After a noble fight, Leo XIII. passed away on the 20th of July, 1903, at the age of ninety-three. The efforts of his physicians had been unwearying to keep the silken cord, so finely spun out, still unbroken; and their endeavors were supplemented by his own almost superhuman tenacity, which kept him alive nearly three weeks after his case, a complication of pleuro-pneumonia, was pronounced hopeless. His death was grand, calm and serene; and according to the testimony of his doctors few persons, even in youth, have shown such heroic courage in dying. It was the birthday fête of Queen Margherita; but out of respect to His Holiness no salutes were fired; and when the news was circulated that the end had come, flags and ensigns of rejoicing were withdrawn from the streets and houses all over Rome. The Pope had always had confidence in the loyalty of the royal family, as was indicated by a remark made on hearing that the king had deferred his visit to Paris: "We know how chivalrous the House of Savoy has ever been to its opponents."

Beside the same bed over which all the world had watched without regard to creed or politics, the cardinals soon assembled to take official notice of the Pope's decease. Cardinal Oreglia, in his capacity of Dean of the Sacred College, approached the dead Pontiff and struck his forehead with a silver hammer, calling him by name; and then after a short silence he announced in the Assembly that the Pope was really dead. After this came the ceremony of taking off the "Fisherman's Ring," this amulet having belonged, it is said, to St. Peter; and it is claimed that it has been worn by every Pope since that time.

Cablegrams and dispatches were immediately issued, notifying the sovereigns and rulers of foreign nations; and before nightfall many messages of condolence were received. At eight o'clock commenced the ceaseless clanging of bells from the four hundred churches of Rome, which was kept up for an hour, until the whole city seemed a tremendous reverberation. This was repeated at the same time in the evening until the day of the funeral.

Pope Leo XIII. was a statesman and a scholar as well as an ecclesiastic, the very simplicity of his character constituting his greatness. It is said of him that no man held so much influence for good in the last two decades of the nineteenth century, during which time his hand was visible in almost every public event of importance transpiring in the world. He was an indefatigable worker to the last, his days being spent in unremitting labor and toil; and, even after his illness set in, it grieved him when he saw his capacity for work diminishing.

Pius IX., with his rule of thirty-two years, was the only prelate who ever reigned longer than Leo XIII.,

and ten other Popes each held the sacred office for twenty years.

Pope Leo XIII.'s body lay in state in the Church of St. Peter's until the funeral, which occurred on the 25th of July, 1903, and the vast populace was allowed during this time to view his remains. According to his own request, his body, after a year's repose in St. Peter's, was removed to St. John in Lateran, while an ancient custom prescribed that his viscera should be placed in the crypt of the Church of St. Anastasius. When they sought the key it could not be found, since on account of political complications the heart of Pius IX. was left in the Vatican, and this ceremony had not been observed since the death of Gregory XVI. in 1846. Accordingly it was found necessary to break down the door of the vault.

Nine days after Leo XIII. died, the conclave of the cardinals met to elect his successor (the word conclave meaning a key, since it is an assembly behind closed doors), the avenue to the Vatican having been walled up and all the cells of the cardinals locked and barred.

There were many interesting incidents connected with this imprisonment, since a strict examination was required lest something contraband should find its way from outside, to influence the cardinals in their choice of a candidate. One day there were three hundred chickens, five hundred newly laid eggs, besides crates of fruit and quantities of vegetables, salads, etc., presented at the little wicket for examination. The chickens had to be opened, baskets of produce turned topsy-turvy and even the eggs were not unmolested. The inferior grades of cardinals were sometimes even found at their cell window answering signals sent to influence their vote. Cardinal Gotti is said to have

been the only cardinal who did not complain of his quarters.

After Clement IV. died the choice of his successor was debated two years and a half before any decision was reached, while Leo XIII.'s election was accomplished in thirty-six hours.

Each morning the people outside the Vatican looked for the coil of smoke coming from a certain chimney in the Sistine Chapel, which denoted that the ballots were being burned because no decision had yet been reached. "*La fumata, la fumata,*" was often repeated amongst the crowd of sixty thousand sometimes assembled in the square of St. Peter's, this undulating mass of humanity being kept in order by squads of soldiers. On the fourth day Rampolla threw his influence, which up to this time was the greatest, in favor of Sarto, and on the 4th of August, 1903, the latter was elected as Pius X. This Giuseppi Sarto was a cardinal, sixty-eight years old, and the Patriarch of Venice. At first he refused the honor, but when his duty was made clear he finally accepted, not without reluctance; and on the following Sunday, August 8, he was crowned in St. Peter's, the first Pope to receive the diadem there since Gregory XVI. in 1831. Pius IX. in 1846 and Leo XIII. in 1878 had assumed the office in the Sistine Chapel. The length of the Pope's Pontificate is reckoned from his coronation day.

Pius X. is a man from the common people and much admired in Venice. He is endowed with handsome features and a magnificent clear voice with a musical Venetian accent. When chosen, although already somewhat advanced in years, he walked with the firmness of a man in his prime. He was first a parish

priest, then a canon of the Cathedral of Treviso and afterward Bishop of Mantua. He was made a cardinal in 1893 by Leo XIII., and when he was elected Patriarch of Venice, the highest office in the Catholic hierarchy, considerable opposition was raised by the Italian government, this being a part of the king's patrimony. But, being a friend of King Humbert, the difficulty was easily solved and he held the office ten years, beloved by the Catholics and esteemed by the State.

The scene in the Vatican square when his election was announced was of unparalleled interest. The people were waiting as usual for the smoke, when Cardinal Macchi, in official robes, appeared at a window and a wild shout went up. Just as he was reading in clear tones the preamble, and the name of Sarto was pronounced, terrific applause of acclamation arose from the great crowd. In vain the cardinal waved his hand for silence; the pent-up feelings of those who had watched day after day for the "*fumata*" could not be suppressed.

In the conclave Sarto was the only candidate strong enough to secure the two-thirds vote required by the Church. It was believed by most that he would follow out the broad lines of Leo XIII.'s policy, since he had the same reputation for wisdom and culture, and his piety is said to possess a strong element of common sense. His personality and dignity are in keeping with the traditions of the ablest pontiffs who have ruled the Vatican, though he is not a man of strong physique.

It is said that Leo XIII. himself predicted at one time that Sarto would be his successor. Many thought that his election would finally result in the union of Church and State in Italy, and that before many

decades the Popes would cease to imprison themselves in the Vatican; but, although socialistic inclinations betoken necessity of co-operative action between Church and State, and the Pope's tendencies favor such a policy, the calm of Italian politics has not yet been disturbed by the excitement inevitable in the settlement of a question which would not only derange the foundation of government, but tend to counteract embryonic educational influences.

CHAPTER XVII

PRINCES OF THE HOUSE OF SAVOY.—OFFICERS OF THE STATE AND ITS VARIOUS INSTITUTIONS.—IMPROVEMENT IN CONDITION OF PEOPLE IN VARIOUS SECTIONS AND DEPARTMENTS.—VAST EMIGRATION.

THE throne of Italy is hereditary in the male line of the House of Savoy, which, in accordance with the Salic Law, debars female succession. A part of the ceremony, when the title of the King of Italy is assumed, is that he accepts the crown by the "Grace of God and the Will of the People." This exemplifies constitutional government, which places the will of the people as equal to the kingdom given by God's grace.

The title of Prince of Naples first originated in 1869, at the birth of the present king, Victor Emanuel III., the only child of King Humbert and Queen Margherita. King Humbert's brother, Prince Amadeus, died in Turin, in 1890, leaving four sons, Emanuele, Duke of Aosta; Victor, Count of Turin; Umberto, Count of Salemi, and Luigi, Duke of the Abruzzi. The last was the rightful heir in succession until the birth of little Prince Humbert.

The Duke of Abruzzi started out in 1899 on an expedition to the North Pole, returning in 1900. He penetrated as far as $86^{\circ} 33'$ north latitude, farther than any previous explorer, Nansen only going as far as $86^{\circ} 14'$. Nansen himself met him on his return in the October of 1900 at Christiania, and received

him with great cordiality. The Duke lost several fingers in the North from exposure to the cold, and was thus prevented from going with the party who left their sledges on the 28th of February in order to explore nearer the Pole. They found the temperature 50° below zero, Fahrenheit, and three out of the six died from exposure, the rest being obliged to turn back on the 11th of March. The Duke of Abruzzi was born in Turin in 1873.

The annual allowance of the King of Italy is fifteen million liras. He acts through his ministers, nominated by himself, and taken from the national representation. These protect him in all his State negotiations, their signature being necessary to give validity to the royal decree. With the help of the Chamber the king makes the laws; he has the right to declare war, and to bring about peace, and has the chief command on land and sea. He coins money, stamped with his own image, confers orders and has the right to pardon. He also calls the National Assembly together and dissolves it.

The coat-of-arms of Italy is a white cross on a red field, with a gold regal crown on a shield surrounded by a chain of the Annunciata Order; and the tricolored flag of the nation consists of vertical stripes of red, green and white, the green next to the flagstaff.

Negotiations with foreign States, commercial and marine, are decided by the National Assembly, which consists of Senate and Chamber of Deputies, these together, as complements of each other, forming the Parliament. The Senate, which is the Upper House, has no fixed number, but never exceeds four hundred, the members being appointed for life by the king. The princes when twenty-one years old are admitted

to the body, and when twenty-five have a voice in its measures; the president of the body is elected for the session.

Any Italian more than forty years of age out of



twenty-one categories is eligible to the Senate; as for instance those of the learned class, or artists, of the class of high officials or of a category who pay the

three hundred liras in taxes to the State. Only a certain number, however, can be represented from each of the classes, the king's appointments being subject to an examination by a committee chosen for that purpose.

In case of high treason, and also in the impeachment of ministers, the Senate is the highest court of justice. In contrast to the changing House of Deputies, the Senate represents the Conservative party, although all its members do not necessarily belong to the latter.

The Senate is not equal in importance to the Chamber of Deputies, without whose consent the laws are not valid. The Deputies are chosen every five years by a College of Electors behind closed doors; and its members are selected in a ratio of one to every fifty-seven thousand inhabitants, making, in all, about five hundred. These must be thirty years old or upward, and of irreproachable character. Only forty of one profession can have a seat, but in every category the choice is made by lot, and those who are not chosen stand open to the next election. Nominally the king opens the Chamber and dissolves it, but in reality the members themselves perform this function. The choice of Deputies gives rise to much party feeling through complaints and frequent accusations of bribery.

When there is a vote passed by the Chamber of Deputies unfavorable to the cabinet, the latter is forced to retire, and the king places the responsibility of selecting a new cabinet on the leader of the opposition. The president of the Chamber is chosen from the ministers.

There are eleven officers in the cabinet: the Secretary of the Interior, of Foreign Affairs, of Justice, of

the Treasury, of Finance, of War, of the Navy, of Education, of Public Works, of Agriculture, of Industry, and of Commerce, as well as of Posts and Telegraph. The principal incomes are derived from the land tax (eighty-eight million liras), and from the building and movable property (three times that amount), and from right of succession, and customs, nearly eighty-six millions each.

The citizens are subject to military duty at the age of twenty, all young men who are able-bodied being obliged to serve two or three years, though the more highly educated pay a tax of twelve hundred liras and serve only one year. In this way there are always two hundred and fifty or three hundred thousand men ready for military service; and since they can be enlisted until they are forty years old, nearly a million and a half of men are at command in case of war. Though the support of this large army is one great cause of Italy's poverty, they think that it increases their dignity as a nation and wards off attack from the outside. All the latest inventions have been introduced into the service; but notwithstanding the common soldiers are willing, enthusiastic, courageous and self-sacrificing, they lack technique, and the officers for the most part have never greatly distinguished themselves.

For protection of the restless population of Italy who live among the mountains, and have to traverse long and difficult distances on foot, a special hunter guard or Alpine force, called the *Carabinieri*, has been instituted. There are twelve legions of these, composed of forty-three divisions, consisting of thirty-nine hundred mounted gendarmes and four thousand foot. They carry light cannon, which can be taken to pieces and transported on the backs of donkeys; and they wear a

black uniform with stripes of red surmounted by long black cloaks, and cocked hats. The Carabinieri, to prevent surprise from the criminals they are tracking, always go in pairs, so that there is a popular joke that they are born twins. The fact that these are chosen from the Piedmontese and Tuscans and from Lombardy, because more reliable, disaffects the southern Italians and arouses envy and hatred towards them. This corps is selected from those who in their three years' obligatory service have never incurred the slightest punishment; and the king's guard is made up of picked men from this force. The Carabinieri have done much to suppress brigandage in the country districts.

The need of the Carabinieri is still apparent from the fact that in the October of 1901 several of these brigands were captured, among them one Musolino, a noted and dangerous desperado, who had escaped from prison where he was serving a sentence for murder. He had lived three years as an outlaw, killing in the meantime several Carabinieri and many citizens.

Napoleon in one of his speeches said: "The Italian nation to exist must have a strong navy to enforce authority over her islands and to protect her coast." In accordance with this idea Italy has made her naval power equal to that of her army, and in doing so fulfills the traditions of the early Marine republics, the gigantic warships of which were the first examples of fine naval armament. The shipyards in Venice, Spezia, Taranto, Naples and Castelmare still send forth many fine ships.

All persons who after the age of ten have been on the sea as fishermen, or six years as stokers on steamships, or have worked in shipyards, are subject to

naval duty. They enter the navy at eighteen years of age, and are divided into three classes. First, those who join the navy for life and have four years of active service, eight years in the Reserve, and six years in the Naval Reserve, as it is called. Second, those who have twelve years in the Reserve and six years in the Naval Reserve; and third, the exempts—mostly among the wealthy—those who enter immediately on the so-called Naval Reserve and have no active service. The officers, who are educated at Leghorn in a naval school like the German one at Kiel, are given a general military and naval education, besides being taught the minutiae of a seafaring life. The shipbuilding engineers take the usual engineering course, and then are taught the art of shipbuilding in special schools.

In Piedmont the natural warlike inclination has been fostered for three hundred years by clever military training. Accordingly the nobility of the land for several generations have accustomed themselves to military service, so that there is scarcely an aristocratic family who cannot boast of brave officers. The father of Massimo d'Azeglio begged his wife in his will not to put on mourning in case he should fall fighting, but to appear in holiday attire; since she ought to consider it the greatest happiness that he had been permitted to give his life for his king and country. If one of his little sons complained of suffering, d'Azeglio would say to him, half joking: "When a Piedmontese loses both his arms and legs, and has two wounds in his body, then, and not until then, ought he to complain of not feeling well."

Italy is a centralized government in the sense that its departments are dependent upon the chief government. There has been an effort made to decentralize

the provinces, namely, to give them each a legislature of their own like our separate States, though still dependent upon the administration at Rome. It has been thought that the length and narrowness of the peninsula renders a centralized government difficult, and prevents that brotherly feeling which engenders a desire for consolidation. But the greater facilities of the present era for communication by means of the numerous railroads and telegraphs have brought all countries, and especially the divisions of countries, together, and made all sections cosmopolitan.

Italy is now divided into sixteen departments, sixty-nine provinces, one hundred and ninety-seven circles, eighty-seven districts, one thousand eight hundred sub-districts, and eight thousand two hundred and sixty-one townships. When the census was taken in 1881 there was a population of twenty-eight million, four hundred and fifty-nine thousand, six hundred and twenty-eight (28,459,628) inhabitants; but in 1900, in spite of emigration, it had increased to nearly thirty-two and a half million (32,440,750), and, with colonies, about thirty-five million. The extent of the kingdom is now one hundred and ten thousand, six hundred and seventy-five square miles, making a population of two hundred and eighty-nine persons to a square mile. The population of Rome doubled between 1871 and 1881, so that at the latter date it was half a million, and in 1899 it was five hundred and twelve thousand, four hundred and twenty-five. As the population increased dwelling houses had to be provided, often at the sacrifice of old classical buildings, and for some years Rome has had the air of a modern city, which towers above the monuments of ancient Rome and now extends a long distance beyond the Leonine City.

It soon became so apparent that there is room in Rome for the spiritual sovereignty of the Church as well as for the temporal glory of the Kingdom of Italy, that Leo XIII. overcame much of his prejudice against the agencies which had robbed the Popes of their temporal power, and for some time previous to his death permitted the functionaries of the Papal court to maintain relation to some extent with the representatives of Italian liberalism.

When, a little while before his death, Massimo d'Azeglio exclaimed: "Now that Italy is made we must make the Italians," he meant that the half century during which the kingdom had been built up was entirely inadequate to mold the character of a great people. Since then another fifty years has passed, and yet Italy is not quite up to the standard of the most advanced nations of the twentieth century; but considering the short period since its consolidation in 1870, it would be unjust to compare it with countries which have had centuries of freedom and unity; and in the words of General Ponzo di San Martino: "It will take yet another century for us to show the world what Italy can do."

It is the elevation of the masses which will bring about the return of greatness to Italy. At present their condition, compared to that of other nations, is pitiable, especially in the south. In parts of the old Papal States, particularly in the Marches, some of the poor live the year round on chestnuts, and even on acorns, while in Milan the constant subsistence on corn-meal disorders the physical system and engenders disease. There are also in this section tenement houses where at night eighteen hundred souls are crowded together like cattle in their stalls. These

poor people spend from fourteen to sixteen hours in the workshop, some of the men receiving only twelve cents a day, the women earning but four cents; and in the south, in some provinces of Sicily and Calabria, they have only the waste of what they help to manufacture, receiving no money at all. This manner of life has not only dwarfed them mentally, but stunted their physical growth, so that the standard of height for military service has been lowered. In spite of all their poverty, the Italians are taxed more heavily than any other nation—it is said to the extent of an average of fifteen dollars per head. There is a tax on everything, both the necessities and the luxuries, on railroad tickets, and on the smallest exchange; and indeed there is no package too minute for a government stamp to be affixed; so that it is thought that it averages four per cent. on the annual income of each individual.

The result of all this is the enormous emigration, which amounts to over three hundred thousand a year. This happens in spite of the fact that nearly fourteen million acres of uncultivated land remain unredeemed and that the government has to import eighty million dollars' worth of cereals annually. Although the increase in emigration of able-bodied men from Italy seems enormous, it must not be forgotten that, in spite of this, the census shows an increase of about forty-four per cent. since 1860; and that, if emigration should stop, the population, which is now about thirty-two million, would in the course of a century amount to nearly a hundred million. Accordingly it is estimated that if Italy became as densely populated proportionately as the province of Genoa, where there are twice as many people to the square mile as elsewhere in Italy, at the end of this century she could not contain

much more than half her population, since fifty-five million is about the maximum capacity of the whole peninsula; hence the necessity of the balance of the hundred million emigrating in the course of the next hundred years.

During the past two decades five million have gone out of Italy into other countries. One hundred thousand annually enter Switzerland, and nearly as many more go to the United States; though those who go to Switzerland often return to Italy later, with a little stock of money saved, and settle down in diminutive homes. There is an immense Italian colony in New York City as well as in other large American towns; while in London the Italian quarter amounts to a very considerable city in itself. Many emigrate to South America, where they do not meet with the same difficulties in language that they do in the United States. The day is not far off when the Argentine Republic, ten times as large as Italy itself, will be at least half inhabited by Italians, and a new Italy will be formed across the sea.

The lack of proportion in the management of internal affairs in Italy is apparent when we realize that it has cost one hundred and five million dollars to support the African colony of Erythrea in the last sixteen years, and the expenses of the army are over seventy-one million, while only eight hundred thousand are used up in redeeming uncultivated land.

The most disheartening aspect of the situation in Italy is the increase of crime. "In that region of the Papal States where St. Francis of Assisi taught the pure gospel of peace and charity, sanctifying many who listened to his doctrines, four thousand murders are committed annually." But these discouraging feat-

ures are the result of centuries of decay, political slavery, and moral degradation. It is well to add that in the north there is more of fraud, just because there is less violence; for while inherited criminality of a semi-barbarous civilization acts rudely and frankly, attacking with the knife, modern delinquency works in the dark, and assumes a mask of hypocrisy.

The modern facilities of communication have increased the traffic and have brought into Italy twenty-five thousand to seventy-five thousand tourists annually in the last twenty-five years.

In the time of Ferdinand of Naples, called "Bomba," the percentage of illiteracy in some of the provinces of Sicily was ninety-nine, and the average throughout the peninsula was then seventy-five per cent.; and even in Tuscany public instruction did not exist. As is sometimes the case at present, at that time public letter writers, often people of culture who had seen better days, were stationed in conspicuous places in order to help the ignorant.

Since the consolidation of Italy things have improved greatly; for where sixty-four per cent. of the entire peninsula could not read or write in 1871, at present there are scarcely forty per cent. At that era there were only about thirty thousand public primary schools in all Italy, costing six million dollars, with about a million pupils, while now there are sixty thousand schools, and over three million pupils, which cost annually fifteen million dollars. Every parish has a girls' and boys' school with a teacher for every seventy pupils; and larger cities have higher elementary schools. Unfortunately, however, education is obligatory only from six to nine years of age, and they fail to enforce even this law on account of insufficient

means and lack of teachers. This latter difficulty has been partially obviated, however, by the establishment of one hundred and fifty normal schools. Higher schools are not free; and although Italy was the earliest seat of universities, at present their standard is much lower than elsewhere. It is even said that many of their college students know hardly more than high school graduates in other countries.

For many years voting was restricted to those who paid taxes to the amount of forty liras; for it was thought that there was danger from the suffrage of the poor and ignorant who were indifferent to public questions. The qualification has now been extended to all who are of age and can read and write; and if there were no illiterates there would be seven million on the electoral list. As it is, there ought to be four million voters, when in fact only two million citizens have signed the voting list, and only about a million and a third went to the polls at the last general election. Therefore it is apparent that it is the will of the minority which governs Italy, and that the most potent cause of this, and the one which might prevent Italy from becoming a great and glorious nation, is the lack of education among the common people.

There are three times as many post and telegraph offices in Italy as there were in 1870, the postal matter also being trebled. The commerce has gained ninety-nine per cent., and her exports one hundred and twenty per cent., since 1870. Beggars are at present practically confined to the south; and Florence and Naples, which have been centers of infection, are now largely rebuilt; so that where in 1872 the death rate in Rome was forty-one and eight-tenths per thousand, in 1897 it was only fourteen and three-tenths.

But the greatest foe of Italy is of her own household, the household of faith, the clericals being her bitterest enemies; for, since they have condescended to take part in the government they are ready to support any antagonist, whether republic or empire. These political differences, however, have at present little effect on public tranquillity. Thus, "the year that Pius IX. was at the Vatican, Victor Emanuel II. at the Quirinal, and Garibaldi at the Villa Casalini, these three men, who had fought each other for thirty years, lived in the same city without being in conflict. When the philosopher, Giovanni Bovio, came to Rome and saw the situation, he exclaimed: 'This is not a town, it is the world!'"

When after the taking of Rome the clericals, a large part of the conservative element, were forbidden by the Pope to vote, the "Right" ceased to exist, and the traditional party lines of "Right and Left" gradually disappeared; but afterwards these two parties again took shape, and in addition to these the Socialists became an important factor with which to reckon, they having increased from seventy-six thousand in 1895 to one hundred and thirty-five thousand in 1897.

CHAPTER XVIII

ABYSSINIAN WAR.—CRISPI.—AUTHORS.

1885—1899 A. D.

IN 1880 the Florio-Rubantino Navigation Company ceded to the Italian government their coaling station on the Bay of Assab on the Red Sea, which she had held since 1870; and in 1885 the Italians were attacked with the widespread fever for colonization. The English were at this time engaged in trying to absorb the Soudan; and now Italy, desiring to gain their favor, sent troops to take possession of Massowah. When Khartoum fell the Italians made friendly overtures to John, the Negus of Abyssinia, hoping thus to attract the inland trade to their new port of Massowah. But the Negus was not so easily pacified, and, having sent a large force to Dogali, he surrounded a division of five hundred Italians and massacred them. This was the signal for war; and in January, 1888, the Negus encamped before the Italian fortifications at Massowah, but later thought it best to retire with his large force without engaging in battle.

Menelik, the mighty King of Shoa, revolted from his allegiance to the Negus John, who was mortally wounded in the fray. This Menelik, though still half civilized, is a much better sovereign than his predecessors, such as the usurper Theodore, who traced their pedigree from the ancient line as far back as Solomon and the Queen of Sheba.

When in 1887 Crispi became prime minister after

the death of Depretis, the Italian government, wishing still further to enlarge its territory in Africa, occupied Keran and Asmara, and united with Menelik, who pledged himself to support them. Crispi called his new colony in Africa Erythrea, from the Greek name of the Red Sea; and a large protectorate was established over a considerable extent of the Somali peninsula. Crispi, who thought that by these conquests a great colonial career was about to open for Italy, has always been censured as the one to blame for the continuance of the war.

In his early history Crispi was known as an adventurous, ambitious, and daring spirit, he having been an animating force throughout the struggle which led to the overthrow of the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies. After being repeatedly banished on account of his fanatical tendencies, he wandered in the disguise of a tourist, and sometimes as a journalist, between London, Paris and Italy, the agent of the United Italian party, organizing committees to incite revolution. He sided with Mazzini against the Piedmont alliance with Louis Napoleon, it being understood that if at any time Victor Emanuel himself became the head of an invading army, they would unite with him. Having returned to Naples, Crispi was allowed to land on the 30th of August; and on the 13th of May, 1860, he set out with "The Thousand," under the command of Garibaldi. His acts were so decided that he is said to have been the "best abused" man in Italy next to Mazzini. He, with Garibaldi and Mazzini, adhered to the original programme of freeing Venice and Naples and crowning Victor Emanuel King of Rome.

Although the Cavour party wished to keep Crispi out of Parliament, he was not only elected, but, being

very poor, his electors supported him in Turin until his success as a lawyer rendered him independent. During the '60's he was the leader of the extreme Left, and was called "an Ishmaelite among journalists"; and he was ever after no cipher in politics. He was an advocate of a vigorous policy against Austria in 1866, and was then opposed to Depretis. He was afterwards, however, Minister of Finance, in Depretis' cabinet, not only succeeding him in 1887 as premier, but also assuming the posts of home and foreign minister. Soon after this he paid the memorable visit to Bismarck, which resulted in the entrance of Italy into the Triple Alliance.

The undertaking of vast naval and military schemes brought Italy to the verge of bankruptcy, and a series of financial crises followed; and in 1889 two attempts were made on Crispi's life. His refusal to consider the question of retrenchment in military and naval affairs led to the defeat of his ministry in 1891; but after the term of Signor di Rudini and the resignation of Signor Giolitti, Crispi was again head of the Chamber in 1894.

Notwithstanding Menelik's shortcomings as an African barbarian, in this war he proved himself a great statesman. He claims to sustain a Christian government; and he and his wife, an uncommonly intellectual woman, lead a well-ordered life, going to church service daily, and Sundays to the Holy Trinity Church. They live in great splendor at Aditis Adab in East Africa, and are very much interested in the modern accouterments of living, new inventions, etc., Menelik having for his chief military officer a Swiss engineer by the name of Ilg from Zurich, Switzerland, who is really his prime minister. The crown

of Menelik is said to be so heavy that he cannot speak without its being lifted.

In 1893 Menelik got control of all Abyssinia and refused to recognize the Italian protectorate. Taking courage from this, the Dervishes, followers of Osman Digma, annoyed by the Italian advance, stormed the fort of Agordat, but were defeated with great loss, and in 1894 General Baratieri succeeded in expelling the remnant of their band from Kassala, thus securing the safety of the Italian colony on that side. Italy and Abyssinia now came to open warfare, and though Baratieri succeeded in occupying the whole Tigris by defeating Ras Mangascia, the viceroy, at Coatit and Senefeh, in 1895, the latter secured the aid of Menelik, and with a large force carried all Abyssinia with him in turn, advancing against Baratieri. The latter was badly equipped and poorly supported at home by the ministry, who knew nothing about the situation in the East, and did not look out that the resources were sufficient to prosecute the war.

In December, 1895, Major Toselli was killed at Amba Alagi, while resisting a large force of the enemy. Major Galliano, at Makaleh, held out against the Abyssinians for a month; then, not being relieved and seeing his men dying for want of water, he decided to blow up the fort; but Menelik, either out of respect for their bravery, or because he had himself been meeting with great losses, allowed them to march out and join Baratieri at Adigrat.

After reinforcements arrived, General Baratieri, notwithstanding his hardships, kept on the defensive, but on the 1st of March he led fourteen thousand men into action against the Abyssinians at the fateful Battle of Adowah. On account of the lack of good

generalship in advancing, the Italians were routed by the enemy, who greatly outnumbered them. Some seven thousand, a third of their army, was slain, and sixty or seventy guns taken. Among the dead there were several prominent generals, including General Arimondi and General Galliano, who had just been promoted, for his distinguished services at Makaleh, to the position of Lieutenant-Colonel. General Dabor-mida was mortally wounded. Another third of the forces were taken prisoners under General Albertone, who bore the brunt of the battle; but the latter was missing after the fight was over. General Baratieri, who was wounded, was tried by court-martial for inefficiency, and, though acquitted, was superseded by General Baldissera, who arrived five days after and proceeded to reorganize the army in Erythrea. Menelik was too cautious to advance further.

The people were greatly aroused at the news from Adowah, and accused the government of mismanagement, censuring Crispi for forcing upon their country such vast and unprofitable projects without sufficient resources to back them.

In the meantime the troops left in Adigrat, together with two other garrisons, several thousand prisoners in all, were waiting for peace in order to gain their release. On the 5th of March Crispi again gave up his ministry to Rudini, who rejected the former's expansion policy. At the same time he relinquished Italy's newly acquired possessions, restricting their boundaries to the Mareb-Belesæ-Muna line, thus virtually retaining only their colony of Erythrea. Finally the prisoners were liberated at the cost to Italy of a large ransom; and later the popular feeling was that the English, in order to keep the advantage in their

Soudanese expedition, had unduly influenced Italy to give up Kassala, which the latter had just ceded to them. Then the people realized that it would be a long time before Italy would be able to "draw from her foot the thorn of Abyssinia"; and when three years later, in 1899, it was thought that the English were trying to spur them on to regain what they had lost at Adowah, they said that they would not again "pull the chestnuts out of the fire for England" as they had done at Kassala.

Some time before this, frauds had been detected in the management of several of the State banks, and investigations brought to light the fact that there was dishonesty in various departments of the government. Cavalotti, one of the writers of the day, and the leader of the "Left," was at the head of this movement, and was a great instrument in again bringing about the fall of Crispi.

Just at this time, in 1898, the effect of the Spanish-American War raised the price of bread and precipitated notorious riots in Milan, which were only suppressed by the imprisonment of many. In this revolt the nation thought they recognized an attempt to undermine the great structure of Italian unity. But the spirits of the people were raised and the populace opportunely diverted by a splendid exposition at Turin, where for the next six months thousands of people had occasion to notice the great progress which Italy had made during half a century.

The king, by the advice of his minister, Pelox, had issued a decree against the Socialists, which had reference to the riots of 1899 in Milan. This was the occasion of great disturbances in the Chamber, so that Parliament was dissolved and Zanardelli, president

of the Chamber of Deputies, resigned in favor of Chinaglia.

The society called the Mafia had sprung up among the Italians, very much like the old Vehm-Gericht which did such deadly work in Germany during the Middle Ages. At their instigation, during the year 1899, Nota-Bartolo was thrown off a train going at full speed for trying to expose their practices. Deputy Palazzo was at the time suspected of complicity with the society, and later was tried and convicted, and in 1902 was executed as being privy to the deed.

It has been said that all Italy's achievements during the last half of the nineteenth century—her dignity as a nation, her ability in uniting heterogeneous particles, and her political successes—were rivaled by her conquests in literature during the first half of the century.

The nineteenth century had begun with the Peace of Luneville, in 1801, a peace which Alfieri said "held all Europe in arms and terror." Parini had died two years before, and two years after Alfieri passed away, he whom Gioberti called the "Restorer of Italian Genius."

The poet Giuseppe Parini was born in 1729, and from the time of his first poems, which were published when he was only twenty-three years of age, his destiny in letters was assured and his influence in literary circles established.

The writings of Vittorio Alfieri, on the contrary, were during his lifetime more influential from a political point of view; yet it was he who elevated the Italian drama, great theaters dating from that era. His most popular tragedy was "Saul"; and he also published many poems in which he exalted liberty and sung of a new Italy and a new life for her people.

The writers of the seventeenth century had crossed the Alps and, after communicating with the French, German and English, had translated their books and caught their spirit; and from this contagion the first Italian novel was derived, "The Last Letters of Jacob Ortis," by Ugo Foscolo, which introduced the literature of the nineteenth century. The sentiment of the Italians in the Napoleonic age are brought out in the life and works of Foscolo and Monti. The other writers of that period were but satellites who reflected but little of the white heat of the times.

Foscolo, though still young, having been born in 1778, was no longer full of the illusion and hopefulness of youth when he wrote the novel in which he depicts his grief at the course of Napoleon in selling the liberty of Venice, a city with a record of thirteen centuries of splendid independence. In 1827, several years before his death, he published his sublime poem, "The Sepolcri," written in 1806, reminding the Italians that only national traditions and the memory of the illustrious dead would be able to bring about the regeneration of Italy.

Vincenzo Monti, though an older man, born in 1754 and dying in 1828, also lived in the Napoleonic era. He had more confidence in Napoleon than in the Italian nation; and, though he had once clung to the Papacy and railed at revolt, he now devoted his life to revolution, even endorsing the tragic putting away of Louis XVI. He clothed his language in classical and mythological garb, in relating contemporaneous events, and gained the name of poet of the Italian government.

When Napoleon was Emperor of France and King of Italy Monti made him the sole subject of his songs and poems, celebrating his victories in the "Il Bardo"

and other books, at the same time that Foscolo, anxious and aloof, was at Brescia writing his patriotic "Sepolcri."

The work, however, which endeared Monti to posterity and showed his perfection in writing verse, was the translation of the "Iliad."

When Napoleon had renounced his dominion in Italy, and Austria had regained her hold in that peninsula, a mental activity took the place of the din of arms, and the writers of the day again returned to letters and study.

While Foscolo was far away in exile doing his best work, and Monti had grown old and ill in the advancing century, two other sovereigns in letters grew to maturity—Alexander Manzoni and Giacomo Leopardi. These two men, who came from different parts of Italy and possessed diverse characteristics and education, gave to the Italian language some immortal works. Following the example of Sir Walter Scott, Manzoni introduced the historical novel, representing Lombard and Spanish society during the first half of the seventeenth century, and the character and lives of obscure men in the most unhappy epoch of Italian history. Although Manzoni's theories leaned toward romanticism, in his novels he brought real people before his readers, adapting them to the era in which they lived; and realism soon after characterized Italian literature.

A Christian spirit of charity and justice ran through all Manzoni's writings and developed in him the love for his country. "I Promessi Sposi" and "Il Cinque Maggio" were his most distinguished works, the former being without doubt the greatest Italian romance as well as the most beautiful example of popular mod-

ern Italian prose, both on account of its simplicity and artistic dignity.

Leopardi in his youth knew only fleeting dreams. He was a pessimist, his mind being devoid of faith both in mankind and in Divine Providence, and thus by an unhappy and reserved life he became entirely engrossed in literary pursuits. While he studied the antique he divined, almost without contact with the outside world, the rich and fervid motives of modern thought; and by his own impulsive romantic doctrines and aspirations he chose subjects which were not such as literary traditions teach, but what real life brings before one. Indeed, he presents us with life itself, which makes 'us all brothers in suffering. "In his prose works he reasons out by philosophy the necessary unhappiness of living beings; in his poetry he pours out the cry of his divine heart, which wept for the misery of his country and the sorrows of the world." Day by day he wrote the story of his indefatigable spirit in a great and immortal volume called his "*Pensieri*."

Now no other voice but that of the literary world remained to the martyred nation. The passion for the liberty of their country had once more arisen in the eager hearts of the youths, after the first terror at Italy's fall into slavery under Napoleon had passed away; and among the conspirators there arose the new patriotic literature which was to educate the Italians to revolution as a nation. The condemned and exiles of 1821 gave to poetry a new fire of youth, which broke forth in the songs of Giovanni Berchet, Gabriel Rosetti and others. In 1832 Silvio Pellico returned from ten years' confinement in the prisons of Spielberg, and published "*Le Mie Prigioni*," a story of his sufferings,

so powerful in its patient cadence that it cost Austria more than one lost battle and incited all liberal Europe to pity. His moving tragedy, "*Francesca da Rimini*," was full of patriotism.

From that time Italian literature was changed and became warlike and revolutionary. Foscolo had said: "Italians, I exhort you to write history; for no people can show more calamities to lament, more errors to avoid, more bravery to arouse respect, nor more great minds worthy of being liberated from oblivion." The classic writers responded to this sentiment by writing eloquent histories and the romanticists by the historical romances and drama, which, by presenting in an attractive form the facts of Italy's past, became auxiliary to history proper.

The historical romance took a sentimental form under Tomaseo Grossi, an oratorical bent with Francesco di Menco Guerrazzi, who said that he wrote books because he could not fight battles, and a dramatic turn with Massimo d'Azeglio, the leader of the Moderate party. The latter we have had occasion to refer to many times as a Piedmontese lord of great nobility of character who condemned radical movements. The historical drama arose with Giovanni Battista Niccolini; and literature was filled with great memories of the past. Thus the Italian youths, who made up the armies of Italy fighting in the wars for independence, drew inspiration from the books which they read. A good example of the satirical poets was found in Giuseppe Giusti. He, with his quick wit, aroused laughter and anger in turn, by rhymes which seemed jokes and which were victorious battles of good sense for the liberation of Italy.

The most powerful writer of the first three-quarters

of the century was Giuseppe Mazzini, whose poetic prose, vibrating with enthusiasm, gained innumerable co-operators of that revolution, brought about in the name of God and the people, for the unity of Italy and republican liberty.

Nicola Tommaseo, a companion of Daniele Manin in the insurrection of Venice, and an exile with him, produced many strong political, critical, and philological treatises. Balbo, the minister of Victor Emanuel I., wrote "*Speranza di Italia*" (Concerning the Hopes of Italy). Manno, Capponi, Vantu, Corrente, Amari Troya and Vanucci also wrote historical works and patriotic articles.

In Florence, that quiet center of study, all lovers of literature gathered together in the club founded by Gian Pietro Vieusseux. Thence came the "*Antologia*" and "*Archivio Storico Italiano*" (The Historical Archives of Italy), the publication of which works opened up the modern revival of historical study.

Vincenzo Gioberti in the revolutionary period had taken the part of the existing confederation and recommended conciliation at the same time that Mazzini was instigating plots and uprisings. The reality, however, proved far different from Gioberti's ideals, and in 1851, recognizing his mistake, he publicly took his stand in favor of the revolution; accordingly in his "*Renovamente Civile d'Italia*" (The Civil Revival of Italy), he urged a change from ideal aspirations to the study of the real and more imminent practical matters. This work turned the tide in politics towards the destiny of the nation under Victor Emanuel and Count Cavour.

One by one the old patriotic writers died or were almost forgotten, and between 1849 and 1859 only

Giovanni Prati was noticeable. He brought forth poems and splendid lyrics, which, though gems, were lost in the midst of digressions and strange bursts of allegory.

Ippolito Nievo portrayed in a novel the life of the Italians during the transition period; but the promises of his genius were cut off through his accidental death by drowning while he was returning, in March, 1861, from taking part in Garibaldi's revolution in Sicily, just at the time that the Kingdom of Italy was being proclaimed at Turin.

The joyful climax was not the signal, as might be expected, for a bold revival of literature; minds were confused by the upheaval and there was less and less of that intellectual concord which had governed the writers of the first half of the century; and besides, Italy as a nation had to revive educationally in order to come up to modern standards. Then art took divided paths, either turning with Prati to the imitation of the classic style, or, with Aleardo Aleardi, giving vent to romantic sentiment.

At the proclamation of the Italian kingdom romanticism really passed away, as in the first half of the century classicism had given place to the romantic, Goldoni being the first of the former and Giordani the last; and before the third quarter of a century dawned the realistic school had superseded the romantic.

When Carducci, the leader of the literary world between 1870 and 1890, came upon the scene, he proclaimed himself opposed to romanticism. His style was influenced by Alfieri and Foscolo, while his poems, though resembling the foreign poetic masters, are boldly original and cling to classic requirements.

Although it was many years before his genius was recognized, he dimmed the fame of all his contemporaries and formed a school of living poets who have adopted the severe purity of Greek and Roman metric forms. He also writes valuable prose in the form of political and historical treatises.

Rapisardi stands alone as an exception to this rule and resembles Prati and Arthur Graf, the latter a German romanticist who stands by himself in writing the Italian language.

Vilari, the living historian, has written fascinatingly of Florentine life as it existed in the time of Savonarola and Machiavelli, presenting those past scenes with the same vividness as experiences of to-day. He also treats current topics ably.

Besides several distinguished poetesses, there are many other living writers of some note, but we will only mention two: d'Annunzio and d'Amicis, whose fame is world-wide.

Gabriele d'Annunzio, the poet and novelist, born in 1862, is equally criticised and lauded. He is an imaginative poet and expresses himself like a writer of the sixteenth century, portraying the life of the fashionable set. Although he egoistically works into his novels the turbidness of his soul, his fervid temperament and wealth of imagery develop something of the originality found in Goethe and later in Théophile Gautier. Among his latest works are several dramas which have attracted much attention, one of his latest being the tragedy, "*Francesca da Rimini*." D'Annunzio's poetry is greatly admired in Italy, and great things are expected of him; but he is immoral in his tendencies.

Edmondo d'Amicis, on the other hand, exerts a de-

cidedly moral influence and is the most popular of living Italian authors on account of his wit and the versatility of his genius. At first he was an officer in the army; and at present he is a great traveler as well as a novelist, his topics varying from reminiscences of the Italian wars to the descriptions of contemporaneous customs in far-away countries. He is a Socialist and a great observer of human character, painting vividly all phases of social life. His most popular work, "Cuore," which has been translated into all languages, is a simple and touching picture of school life in Piedmont. Next to Manzoni he has given to Italy her best prose, most nearly resembling the spoken language, and of the purest style. He stands alone in fame all over the world and we may speak of him as Marmion did of his great master, as a "captain without soldiers."

The works which will live in future generations are "I Promessi Sposi" by Manzoni, "Ilanti" by Leopardi, and "La Divina Commedia." The last, though belonging to another epoch, was popularly appreciated only in this century; and it can be said that the Italian author best known, most studied and ever deeply loved, is Dante Alighieri.

The large army of eminent living journalists, scientific men, biographers, humorists, etc., at the present time, too numerous to mention, furnishes evidence of intellectual activity as well as of the strength of the nation and the vitality of the race.

The greatest name in Italian art during the first two decades of the past century was that of Antonio Canova. He was called the "Prince of Sculptors and Reformer of Art in Italy." His first efforts brought him praise; and fortune being on his side, sovereigns

and Popes overwhelmed him with decorations and honors.

Sculpture continued to prosper under Alberto Thorwaldsen, a Dane who came to Rome in 1796, when twenty-six years old, and remained there more than forty years. He sustained fanatically the systems of Winckelmann and David, using Greek art for his model. Théophile Gautier wrote of him: "He has studied the antique thoroughly and has copied nature with seeing eyes, simplifying or eradicating useless details and leading up to a beautiful ideal."

The greatest sculptor of the last half of the nineteenth century is Vincenzo Vela, who was born in the Swiss Canton of Ticino and now lives in Turin. As a realist he has exercised, for half a century, the greatest influence on Italian sculpture.

Romanticism has found its warmest adherents in the sculptors Lorenzo Bartolini and Marochetti, and in the painter Hayez, while the artist Morelli, who died a year or two ago in Naples, was a more decided romanticist than any of them. The brothers Domenico and Girolamo Induno were realists in the highest sense, making genre pictures their specialty.

In music Italy no doubt has led the world, Rossini, Bellini, Donizetti and Verdi being four names, any one of which would have brought glory to a nation.

Rossini effected a revolution in music like that of Goldoni in the drama, and one can only appreciate what force, what variety of expression and what fullness and richness of form he added to it by comparing him with his predecessors. His fame can be judged by these lines from the pen of an illustrious French critic: "After the death of Napoleon there was another man who was the subject of conversation each day from



MUSICIANS.

Donizetti.

Rossini.

Bellini.

Verdi.

Mascagni.

Moscow to Naples, from London to Vienna, from Paris to Calcutta. This was Rossini, and his fame knew no boundaries except those of the civilized world."

Bellini was called the Petrarch of music, and he had indeed the energy and sweetness of the latter. He understood how to bring out the clangor of battle and to express the sigh of a breaking heart; and he found new riches in the human voice with which to express the most varied and subtle feelings.

A most powerful genius for versatility and profound sentiment was Donizetti. He was born to feel and to express in music the emotions of his soul. At first he imitated Rossini, then Bellini, but finally he found a strain of his own and stamped it ineffaceably with his individuality.

The pride of Italy for more than half a century was in the fame of Verdi. When this veteran composer first came before the public all felt that he was like one of those poets of antiquity who prophesied the future of the people and that in his music they had heard the voice of the Fatherland. "Richard Wagner was dominated by fancies of a great far-away dim world where ruled gods and demigods, but Giuseppe Verdi felt the passions of the earth, the expression of our hopes and of our fears."

"In the little peasant's hut at Roncole he was born, a hut sacred to posterity, where as a child he thumped away on an old spinet acquired for him by his father with nobody knows how many sacrifices. There, in the solitude of the hills, his genius awoke, such a genius as Goethe says grows from silence and solitude. Who can describe the emotions roused during the past three-quarters of a century by this creating artist? Who

can say what ocean of touching harmony he scattered through the world? Others aroused men by barbaric violence. He did it by a beneficent force."

Giuseppe Verdi died on the 27th of January, 1901, at Milan, where fifty-eight years before they had applauded the great master in a fever of delight. "He is resting, resting after the wearisome labor of the day. Just as eighteen years before, Richard Wagner died in Venice, in one of those palaces on the Grand Canal whose magic architecture is silent music, this other giant of the opera also closed his days full of inspiration and glory, under the Italian sky which Alfred de Musset once celebrated as the home of harmony."

Aside from the works of these great masters only two of the nineteenth century are likely to survive: the "Giaconda" of Ponchielli, and the "Mefistofele" of Arrigo Boito, an intimate friend of Verdi. Among the new lights which are now appearing are Mascagni, Puccini, and Leon Cavallo.

During the course of the century there gradually developed among the Italians an inclination for the drama; and, besides the tragedies produced by the early writers of the century, comedies appeared, "numerous as the leaves in the spring which disappear with the first autumn wind." On the stage we have few prose dramas of world-wide fame, though "La Cavalleria Rusticana" by Verga, from which Mascagni took his plot, and the tragedies of Gabriele d'Annunzio have created lively discussion in Europe and America. These have done much to enrich the prose of the stage, which had greatly deteriorated since the time of its founder Goldoni.

There are scores of scientists worthy to be mentioned, among them many astronomers. Piazzi

brought to light the little planets between Mars and Jupiter, and Schiaperelli disclosed the canals on Mars, while Dunbowski discovered the duplex and multiplex stars. Italy, even though not first among European nations, was ever second to none in astronomy; but the money to keep up with the progressive inventions in astronomical instruments was lacking until after Italy's consolidation.

For twenty years a new force has been upsetting the old régime; and electricity, through the genius of great scientists, particularly Italians, has accomplished marvels. Italy has great hydraulic forces, and electricity will therefore be of incalculable benefit to her, and, together with the discovery of aluminum, will largely compensate for her lack of iron and coal, and make up for her losses incurred by the newer methods used in manufacture in other parts of the world.

Wireless telegraphy, as invented and perfected by Marconi in 1902—one hundred and three years after Volta's birth, sixty-three after the invention of telegraphy, and twenty-six after the invention of the telephone—soon became one of the acknowledged features of science. Marconi announced as early as the night of the 16th of December, 1901, that he had received in Newfoundland signals sent directly from England, a distance of over two thousands miles.

On January 19, 1903, Marconi transmitted from Cape Cod Station to Cornwall, England, a message from Theodore Roosevelt, President of the United States, to King Edward VII. of England. His system was then in use, however, on only seventy ships and twenty land stations; while in 1905 all the principal ocean steamers are able to send and receive messages daily and hourly. This makes it possible to issue on

shipboard little newspapers recording the latest news from all parts of the world.

Marconi was born in Bologna in 1874, and therefore gained fame before he was thirty years old. He has shown great intelligence in his work, and his triumphs are well deserved, although there is much still to discover before the system will compete with the telegraph. Since his father is an Italian, and his mother is a native of the British Isles, it is no wonder that he has all the ardor of the South and the cool-headed perseverance of the Anglo-Saxon race.

There has been great excitement in Italy concerning the alleged discoveries in respect to malaria, scientific experiments made between Batipaglia and Pæstum seeming to prove that this disease is inoculated by small insects of the same genus as the mosquito. Other valuable developments are expected.

CHAPTER XIX

ASSASSINATION OF KING HUMBERT.—VICTOR EMANUEL
III.—DEATH OF CRISPI.—BIRTH OF PRINCESS IOLANDE.
—BIRTH OF HUMBERT, PRINCE OF PIEDMONT.

1900—1905 A. D.

ON July 29, 1900, the Italian people were paralyzed by the news of the assassination of King Humbert I. With his aide-de-camp, the king was returning from a distribution of prizes at Monza, near Milan, and was just entering his carriage when three revolver shots hit him in quick succession, one piercing his heart. He had only time to exclaim: "It is nothing" (*è niente*), and, sinking immediately into unconsciousness, he expired a short time after. The assassin was Angelo Bresci, a native of Prati in Tuscany, but lately from the noted society of anarchists in Paterson, New Jersey, whose motto is: "Death to Rulers."

The queen, Margherita, was out driving; and when on her return to the Palace the truth that the king could not survive was made known to her, she burst into tears, exclaiming: "It is the greatest crime of the century. Humbert was good and faithful to his people, and bore no ill-will to anyone."

The Prince and Princess of Naples were absent on a pleasure excursion in the Levant, and were on the high seas on board their yacht when the news reached them. Crispi met the sorrowful young couple with dispatches on their arrival at Naples in the middle of

the night; and the following day they proceeded as rapidly as possible to Milan and thence to Monza, where they were welcomed by the sorrowing Queen Margherita.

King Humbert was fifty-six years old when he died. His naturally austere, though kind face, aged before its time, was beaming with pride and happiness that very day as he watched the gay contests of strength.

A first attack aiming to take the king's life was made at Naples by Passanante, a wretched scullery boy, when the king and queen were making their presentation journey through Italy before they came to the throne. In 1897 the scoundrel Ascianto, an Italian anarchist, made a second attempt while the king was driving one day on the Corso. Humbert was a fatalist, however, and took no precaution to protect his life, and was even lenient towards the anarchists. His friends urged him to guard himself from madmen and fanatics, but after the attempt in Rome he said: "These are the uncertainties of my position;" and he often remarked at Monza that he was destined to die like Alexander of Russia. He was much annoyed when the Carabinieri tried to protect him, and "scorned a coat of mail over the breast he had exposed so bravely against the bullets of the Austrians at Custoza."

The principal organ of the Italian press wrote the following day: "It is a solace in such painful circumstances to note the love of the whole people for their martyred sovereign, and to see the government pass from the dead ruler's hand with such tranquillity. Even those cities which seemed the least devoted to the State have manifested in a touching manner sorrow at the great loss. This terrible blow unites more closely all hearts. It centers all Italians around the White Cross

of Savoy." All felt the deepest sympathy also for their revered queen, and the same journal issued in its columns the following apostrophe to her: "Farewell, beloved Queen! Thou hast passed into that retirement welcome to the sorrowing. In thy grief thy people weep with thee, thou great and beloved woman, who didst ever act for the interests of Italy and the Italian people, and the House of Savoy, as thy heroic ancestors did before thee. Thou wert Beauty and Grace and the poetry of our youthful lives. Thou wert the worthy daughter of the 'Great King' as well as the courtly spouse of Humbert the Magnanimous; and in heartfelt grief we bring this farewell."

The funeral services over King Humbert's remains were celebrated even in the smallest villages by both the clergy and people; for, as Foscolo once said, "Death is a just dealer of honors." Although it had been Humbert's request to be buried in the Superga, the royal cemetery of the Savoyan kings, the Pantheon, that Roman temple consecrated to all the gods, now dedicated to all the kings of Italy, "received under its mighty cupola, as if beneath a sphere of glory, the second King of Italy by the side of the first, the Great King, the liberator of his country."

It is impossible to imagine a more rigorously constitutional king than Humbert I., the formula of modern constitutions, "the king reigns but does not govern," being engraved upon his heart. He was incapable of breaking an oath; and no constitutional sovereign of monarchical Europe, excepting England, exercised the regal power with such exactness as he did.

When King Humbert first ascended the throne he was called the "hermetically sealed man"; but after-

wards he showed so much sympathy with his people in all their misfortunes that he was known by them as the "comforting king." A few years after his accession there was an earthquake at Ischia, where he consoled the sufferers; and when an epidemic of cholera broke out in 1884, there were gayeties going on at Pordenone in which Humbert was about to join. Without hesitation, however, he said to his minister, Depretis: "They are making merry at Pordenone, at Naples they are dying. I am going to Naples." These words (*a Pordenone si fa festa, a Napoli si muori, Io vado a Napoli*) were written as an inscription on a monument erected in Naples in commemoration of this visit. At the time of this cholera panic, when all were paralyzed with fear and almost everybody deserted the afflicted, the king's sympathetic conduct in mingling so freely with and giving consolation to the patients, especially at Busca and Naples, attracted the notice of the world.

A picture by Nero Carnivale, representing King Humbert before the Hospice of Conocchi grasping the hand of a poor cholera-stricken lad, was presented to Queen Margherita in 1888 by the city of Naples.

The king was accustomed to speak of his people as his Italian family, and, in order to serve them better he sacrificed his love for his country home at Monza and his rural sports, and carried on the duties of his office with punctilious exactness at Rome from November until late spring. The queen proved herself his noble companion in all their duties, being found wherever any good deed could be accomplished, and leading in all charitable and educational movements.

King Humbert tried to relieve the bad conditions of the laboring class by putting into execution the pro-

gressive movements of the day. After the swamps in the delta of the Tiber were drained, and some of the workmen desired to occupy this drier locality as farmers, the king did all he could to help along the agricultural colony composing it, interesting himself in all the circumstances of their lives. These good Romagnola people, who have prospered ever since, speak of him with great pride and gratitude as their friend and benefactor. Notwithstanding all his efforts as a representative of a government which for years had kept the masses in poverty and ignorance, King Humbert was often blamed for the insufficient progress with regard to the low social conditions; for since the landed property is still in the hands of the few, to the detriment of the many, the little plot of ground which every poor man covets for a home is not often a reality in Italy; and this is the reason of the great emigration annually. In addition to these grievances, the taxes to support royalty and to sustain the army are so exorbitant, that the question of amelioration drives the patriots to despair and the fanatics to socialism and anarchy.

After the funeral obsequies the queen retired to Turin. It was finally decided, however, by the court, that since in history Margherita will always be the first Queen of Italy, in the hearts of the Italians the mother of the people, and in the thoughts of the Vatican a symbol of piety and religion, it was best for her to take up her residence in Rome.

After much discussion the Palace Piombino, a splendid modern building well adapted for a court, was purchased and fitted up for her use; and during the Christmas season of 1900 she was welcomed back by a great ovation from the people and cordial demon-

stration from the sorrowing court. Although a fierce storm raged, the streets and balconies from the station to the Piombino Palace were decorated with flags and crowded with the populace. When Queen Margherita appeared on the balcony with her son and Queen Helene, to salute the people, they were answered with the cry of "Viva il Re! Viva Savoya!" meant to be a greeting to the new king as well as to the sorrowing queen returning home to her people.

The Prince of Naples succeeded his father as Victor Emanuel III. The young king was born the 11th of November, 1869, and for many years held his court in the Imperial Palace at Naples, while he at the same time kept up apartments in the resident portion of the Pitti Palace in Florence. He was called Victor Emanuel from his paternal grandfather, Gennaro from the Protector of Naples, and Ferdinand after his maternal grandfather, the brave Duke of Genoa. In honor of the city where he first saw the light, and as an exponent of Italian unity, he received the title of Prince of Naples.

The first teacher of the Prince of Naples was his mother, and his tutor was Colonel Egidio Ossio, who also taught him military tactics. He learned the modern languages from other instructors, and is able, at the present time, to speak French, German and English fluently. Although the young prince was humored by his father and grandfather, Queen Margherita brought him up under strict régime. From the age of ten Prince Victor was made to rise at daybreak, and after a cold bath and a cup of broth he commenced his tasks. If he lingered in bed he was deprived of his bouillon until after his first lesson. His morning instruction being completed, he rode for an hour in all kinds of



VICTOR EMANEUL III.

weather. In fact the whole day was spent in study and exercise. Being an only child and without companions, he was rather a lonely little fellow; and for entertainment he used to drive with his English governess in the Borghese Park and on Mount Pincio, where he would wave his tiny hand in answer to the greetings of the multitude. Another amusement was building fortifications in the Quirinal grounds, and collecting medals, shells and flowers; and he also took great pleasure in amateur photography.

His Majesty's military education was as near perfect as possible, he having been drilled in all the grades from corporal to colonel; and, although he has never experienced war, he has on several occasions exhibited great physical courage.

On the 24th of October, 1896, Victor Emanuel III. married the Princess Helene, daughter of the King of Montenegro. She was a fair, pale-faced princess with a melancholy and Oriental beauty, and was born at Cettine, Montenegro, on the 8th of January, 1873. It was a love-match, the couple having met the summer before at Venice, at the Exposition of Fine Arts. Before the marriage the princess transferred her membership from the Greek to the Roman Catholic Church, this ceremony taking place at the Basilica Palatina at Bari. The young people lived at Naples until King Humbert's death.

The substantial qualities and wonderful culture of Victor Emanuel III. are very marked; and he has already distinguished himself as an able diplomatist. Until recently he has been considered somewhat exclusive; but travel and experience in the world have made him more frank and free than in his youth. He is a friend of all scientists and literary men and is

much interested in everything that pertains to electricity, being one of the first experimenters with the X-rays. His knowledge of geography and history is so extensive that when journeying in South Africa he acted as an encyclopedia for his whole retinue. An anecdote is told of how, when examined in history, in the presence of the king and queen and eminent professors, he selected for his theme the revolutionary movement of the first fifty years of the nineteenth century, amusing all by his frankness in dealing with the virtues and defects of his ancestors, his great-grandfather, Charles Albert and others. Nothing delighted him so much for a present when a small boy as an old out-of-date coin; and he now has in his collection eighteen thousand; yet this is a thousand less in variety than were turned out of the mint at the time the kingdom was divided into so many petty sovereignties.

The king has already shown himself worthy of the office to which he has been called, and ever sees clearly the duty which first lies before him. From Monza he delivered a proclamation exhibiting a sorrowing soul, and at the same time the spirit of one who refuses to be cast down. He said: "I wish to express how sure I feel that the institutions sacred to me, on account of the traditions of our house, and on account of the fervent love of Italy for them, will secure the prosperity and greatness of our country." In his own handwriting were added these words: "My God so help me, and the love of my people so comfort me, that I may be able to consecrate all my powers as king to the protection of liberty and the monarchy and to the best interests of the country."

In December, after the burial of King Humbert in

August, notwithstanding that his tomb had always been guarded, it was robbed of the Iron Crown and Collar of the Annunziata and other supposed valuables; but people forgot what a sacrilege it was, in their amusement at the thought of how the thieves had been cheated—for the jewels were paste.

On the first anniversary of the king's death, July 29, 1901, numerous processions went to the Pantheon to do honor to his memory. Of all the wreaths sent, only one was placed on his tomb, bearing the simple words: "From Margherita, Victor and Helene." The ceremonials are so much like those formerly held on the anniversary of Victor Emanuel II.'s death that the observance of the two has been from that time united on the 29th of July. In other cities, also, proper notice of the day was taken. At Monza on this anniversary the cornerstone of a chapel, erected to the memory of King Humbert, was laid on the spot where he fell.

The first little Italian princess was born on the 1st of June, 1901, her name being Iolande Margherita Romana Milena Maria. It seems hardly possible that a prince could at that time have been more enthusiastically greeted by the queen and the people. The king sagely remarked: "Of course I should have been pleased had it been a prince, but as it is, I am extremely happy." On the joyful occasion of Iolande's birth a little cradle and baby's simple outfit were distributed to all children born in Italy on the same day, Queen Helene herself having superintended the work. With the layette one hundred liras were given to every poor baby. A procession of children carried flowers and greetings to the Quirinal. Victor Emanuel remembered especially the poor and unfortunate, and declared

an amnesty in favor of offenders of the press and duelists. In due time the baby was baptized in the ballroom of the Quirinal, in the presence of the court. Public attention was centered in this tiny bit of royalty at a very early period of her existence, even Menelik sending four elephants' tusks, of unusual size and beauty, from far away South Africa, to serve as supports for the royal cradle.

In September, 1901, Victor Emanuel III. and Queen Helene left Iolande in the care of her nurse and maids at Raconigi, one of their country seats, the old castle of Charles Albert, forty miles from Turin, and set out on their presentation journey among the different cities of Italy. Throughout the tour the character of the queen appeared in a most charming light and that of the king strong and sturdy.

At Milan the king visited his old tutor, General Ossio, whom he had just made a count and who then lay dying; and together the sovereigns sought out Verdi's grave. Particular attention was paid by His Majesty to the electrical plant at Vizzola, one of the largest in the world. To furnish hydraulic force for the almost universal use of electricity in Italy much of the water supply formerly used in irrigation is now turned into water-falls, "White Coal," as they are called. It is estimated that this supply affords a potency of about five million horsepower.

The enthusiasm and spontaneity of the greetings extended to the sovereigns in 1901 in the metropolis, where three years before it was necessary to raise barricades, was an event of real importance.

Nothing could be more solemn than the struggle of Francesco Crispi against death. His nature was like that of the tough oaks of Albania, whence his ancestors

came to Sicily; and his life was a tenacious struggle to the last. On this account he had both friends and bitter enemies; but finally all conceded that first of all a great man had died, perhaps the last great Italian of the classic period of Italy's regeneration. "History must often speak of him, and although she will be obliged to connect his name with the sad fame of Adowa, she will say that he loved Italy most passionately, that he longed to see her great and among the mightiest of the earth." When Alexander Fortis went to Naples to see the famous old man then battling with death, he exclaimed: "Thou art still a giant and we are but pygmies." This exclamation expressed the general impression produced in Italy and all over the world by his death, which occurred in Naples on the 11th of August, 1901.

After incessant activity in the government, Crispi had retired at the age of seventy-seven, heart-broken from personal abuse and party strife. Although his last years were far from joyful, he died serenely confident that justice would be accorded him by history. It might be said of Crispi as Carducci said of Garibaldi, that above all he was an Italian and a man of liberty, a republican by birth and education.

The second little Princess was born on November 19, 1902. Her full name is Mafalda Maria Elizabeth Anna Romana. The king distributed three hundred thousand liras in presents for hospitals and other charities on this occasion.

There was the greatest rejoicing, when, on September 15, 1904, a young prince was born. This event was much more than a domestic felicity, since through it the continuance of power in the House of Savoy was assured. The royal heir was named Humbert,

and after much thought, in order to heal the breach between the Quirinal and Vatican, and silence party strife in many directions, he received the title of Prince of Piedmont, rather than that of Prince of Rome, as was at first discussed. To celebrate the birth of the princely baby the king granted amnesty to all deserters, and, besides this, shortened the term of many prisoners.

The delay of a prince has not been unprecedented in Italian history. Victor Amadeus, the first king of the House of Savoy, waited fourteen years for an heir, during which time there had been four princesses. But in the destiny of royal families and the politics of nations, princesses also have a place, and the women of Savoy have always proved worthy of the dynasty.

The sovereigns lead a very secluded life in their own apartments in the Quirinal, which on account of their simplicity many a Milanese citizen would not tolerate. Even the ladies-in-waiting seldom penetrate as far as Queen Helene's rooms, and the royal couple dine alone without a court.

Among many modern improvements now constantly going on in Rome, a tunnel under the Quirinal was completed October 26, 1902. The appearance of the Quirinal Hill is unchanged; but the citizens of Rome are saved much time and strength by this short cut between the Via Nazionale and the Piazza di Spagna.

An electric road has also been constructed from Rome to Naples through the Pontine Marshes. This route requires only three hours instead of five, as formerly. It is almost identical with the ancient highway of the time of Horace and Mæcenas.

On the other hand, it is sad to notice that here and there all over the peninsula old familiar landmarks are

going to decay. Venice on account of her substructure is particularly susceptible to such changes. It is said that the old Doges' Palace is crumbling, while her splendid Campanile, founded in 888 A.D., succumbed to the ravages of time and fell on the 14th of July, 1902, greatly marring the historic and beautiful St. Mark's Square. A new structure, which will be an exact copy of the old Campanile, was begun in 1903 and will soon rise on the same spot.

During the excavations, in 1903, some tombs were discovered under the Roman Forum between the Temple of Romulus and that of Antoninus and Faustina, indicating that a cemetery, over which the Romans built their temples, formerly existed beneath the level of the Via Sacra. This is supposed to be a burial place of the ancient Latins, antedating Romulus' and Remus' time. It is thought that the excavations still going on in 1905 will throw new light on the legendary period, confirming traditions which have been too readily cast aside.

The completion of the work of piercing the Simplon Tunnel which connects Italy with Switzerland was signaled on February 25, 1905, by the ringing of church bells and firing of cannon. This tunnel is twelve miles long and has proved to be one of the greatest engineering achievements of the age. Immense difficulties were encountered during the process, hot springs sometimes raising the temperature to 131° Fahrenheit; and shifting material often blocked the way. This vast enterprise has been under way for nearly ten years. It was opened regularly to traffic April 2, amid the cries of "Long live Switzerland! Long live Italy!"

Giuseppi Zanardelli, several times president of the

Chamber of Deputies, died at Maderna near Brescia, on December 26, 1903, at the age of seventy-seven. He had held the office of premier without interruption since 1901. In April, 1903, he became seriously ill, but in June was able to reconstruct the cabinet. In the following August his illness assumed such proportions that his physicians counseled complete rest; but he continued as head of the ministry until the 20th of October, 1903, when he resigned, and Giolitte, first made president of the Chamber of Deputies at the time of the Abyssinian War, and a close adherent of the Zanardelli policy, was charged with forming a new ministry. He assumed the office of premier on November 3, 1903.

The King and Queen of Italy's visit to Paris the middle of October, 1903, together with their journey to England a month later, was considered an event of marked political significance, many thinking that it was about to modify the long-established Triple Alliance, while others prophesied that the drawing together of these nations would result in the unity of all the great powers on a firmer foundation of peace.

The first friendly demonstrations on the part of France, after the coolness existing so long, was in 1899, when the French squadron visited King Humbert in Sardinian waters. The Festival at Toulon in April, 1901, was the counterpart of the courtesies exchanged at Calieri in 1899. On the occasion of the fêtes at Toulon King Victor Emanuel III. sent President Loubet, who was himself present, an autograph letter, together with the Collar of the Annunziata, which in itself is an undeniable seal of intimacy and always considered a talisman against antagonisms resulting in war.

Great preparations were made in Paris for the royal visit of 1903. Two lines of militia were posted along the entire route of the procession, stretching from the station along the flag-bedecked Avenue Bois de Boulogne, through the Arc de Triomphe and Champs Elysées to the Place de la Concorde, where the batteries thundered an official welcome. The entire week was spent in fêtes and festivals in honor of the king and queen; and the *entente cordiale* established by their visit was most satisfactory. The king on leaving gave ten thousand dollars for the poor of Paris and six thousand especially for needy Italians.

The reception and entertainment of the Italian sovereigns in England was no less hearty, as the deafening salutes from the warships indicated, when their yacht steamed out of Portsmouth for Cherbourg on their departure for Italy, the 21st of November, the tumultuous expressions of regard denoting that these nations were in great accord. The queens embraced each other affectionately on parting at Windsor, while the kings clasped hands with fervor in token of lasting friendship.

The warmth of these demonstrations re-echo the sentiment of the proclamation which was issued in Milan two years before at the time of the first royal visit of the King and Queen of Italy throughout their own land. "Milan on this solemn occasion extends to the head of the State and to her gracious queen respectful homage. The king, who finds it a pleasure as well as a duty to study the social questions of the day, will feel encouraged by the vigorous development of our strong, flourishing economic life, the fruit of the indefatigable activity on the part of the citizens. We have an indestructible faith in the destiny of the

Fatherland, wrought out by the bravery of her sons, and we feel that Italy, by developing all her latent forces, will gain that glorious position which is sure finally to distinguish her among the nations."

The feeling exhibited in this document, which demonstrated both the fidelity of the nation to the king and their enduring faith in the institutions of the State, found a manifest response in the festivities of Paris and London.

The popularity of these youthful sovereigns was no doubt intensified by the wisdom of the king and the dignity of Queen Helene, developed by the tragedy at Monza. The discretion evinced by both from the time of that overwhelming calamity made a great impression not only on their own people, but on foreign nations all over the world.

It has been said that the great capital of Italy at its origin was thus named because the word "Roma" signified strength; but what spirit of augury found in prophets' or soothsayers' breasts could have foretold an endurance like that of the Eternal City! She sits as of old on her Seven Hills; and, though she no longer from her "throne of beauty" rules the world, still the little hamlet Romulus first espied from his tiny cradle-bark never gave up its ground. Tough as the gnarled oak and strong as iron sinews, when conquered she rose again in renewed magnificence. Rome then was Italy, the Hisperia of ancient days. For many centuries, however, Italy has swallowed up Rome; and in doing this she has kept within herself all the buoyancy of her gay capital. Thus, in view of her elasticity, spirit of emulation and great fortitude, it is easy for any modern seer to predict that before many

centuries shall have passed the "Land of Art and Song" will again become a gigantic force in the world; for enlightenment and freedom and, above all, education, added to instinctive culture, are sure to reanimate her flickering embers and make of Italy a nation fit to lead the world.

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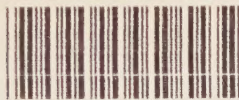
CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

Founding of Rome	April 21, 753 B.C.
Seizure of Sabine maidens	August 18, 753 B.C.
Banishment of the Tarquins, and end of the monarchy	509 B.C.
Overthrow of Decemvirs	449 B.C.
Battle of Allia	July 15, 390 B.C.
Burning of Rome by Gauls	389 B.C.
Samnite Wars	343-290 B.C.
Wars with Pyrrhus	280-275 B.C.
First and Second Punic Wars	264-201 B.C.
Battle of Cannæ	August 2, 216 B.C.
Battle of Metaurus	207 B.C.
Battle of Zama	202 B.C.
Macedonian Wars	200-148 B.C.
Third Punic War	150-146 B.C.
The Gracchi	133-121 B.C.
First Civil War	88 B.C.
Mithridatic War	88-84 B.C.
Second Civil War	83-82 B.C.
Cæsar crosses the Rubicon	January 15, 49 B.C.
Battle of Pharsalia	August 9, 48 B.C.
Death of Cæsar	March 15, 44 B.C.
Battle of Philippi	October, 42 B.C.
Battle of Actium	August 2, 31 B.C.
Beginning of Empire	31 B.C.
Death of Augustus	14 A.D.
Goths destroy Rome	410 A.D.
Fall of the Roman Empire	476 A.D.
Charlemagne	800 A.D.
Age of the Republics	1002-1300 A.D.
Age of the Despots	1300-1500 A.D.
Babylonian Captivity	1305-1375 A.D.
Great Schism	1378-1413 A.D.

Fall of Eastern Empire	1453 A.D.
Age of Invasion	1500-1600 A.D.
Napoleon in Italy	1792-1812 A.D.
Wars for deliverance from Austrian yoke . .	1848-1860 A.D.
End of temporal power of the Pope	1870 A.D.
Death of Victor Emanuel	January 9, 1878 A.D.
Death of King Humbert	July 29, 1900 A.D.
Victor Emanuel III., King of Italy	1900 A.D.
Death of Leo XIII.	July 20, 1903 A.D.

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